

Stephen Gaselee

24 Ashburn Place

S.W.7

Given me by my brother, A. M. Gaselee, &
thru me on 9 November 1912.

On early editions of this book see Prof. John Ferguson's
papers before the Archaeological Society of Glasgow 19 Jan
1888 (N.S. 1846 II, p. 24), before the London Society of
Antiquaries 19 April 1888, and before the Bibliographical
Society of Edinburgh 10 November 1898 (Vol XII, Part I, 1924.)

Witchcraft

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W. Popham Leithbridge

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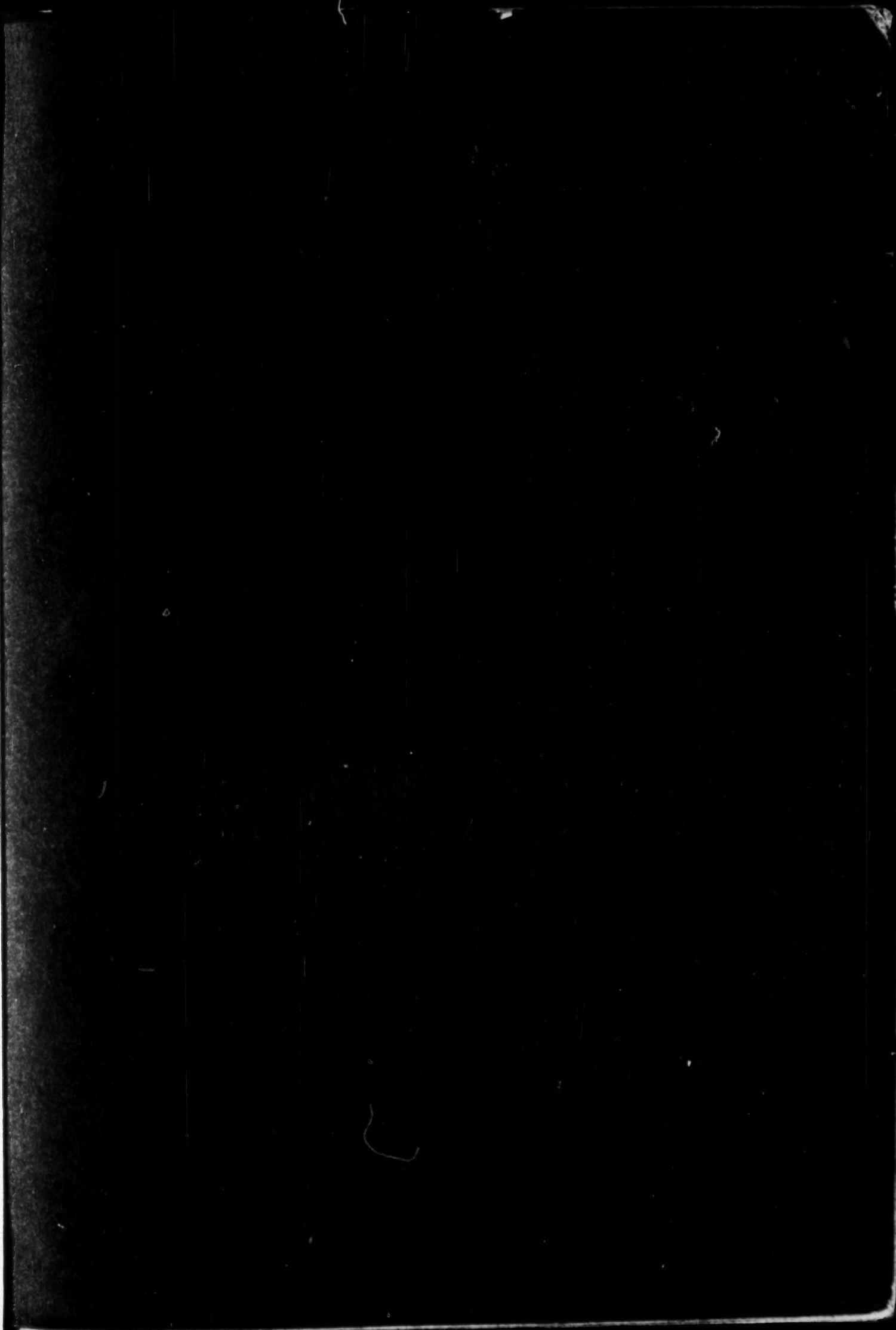
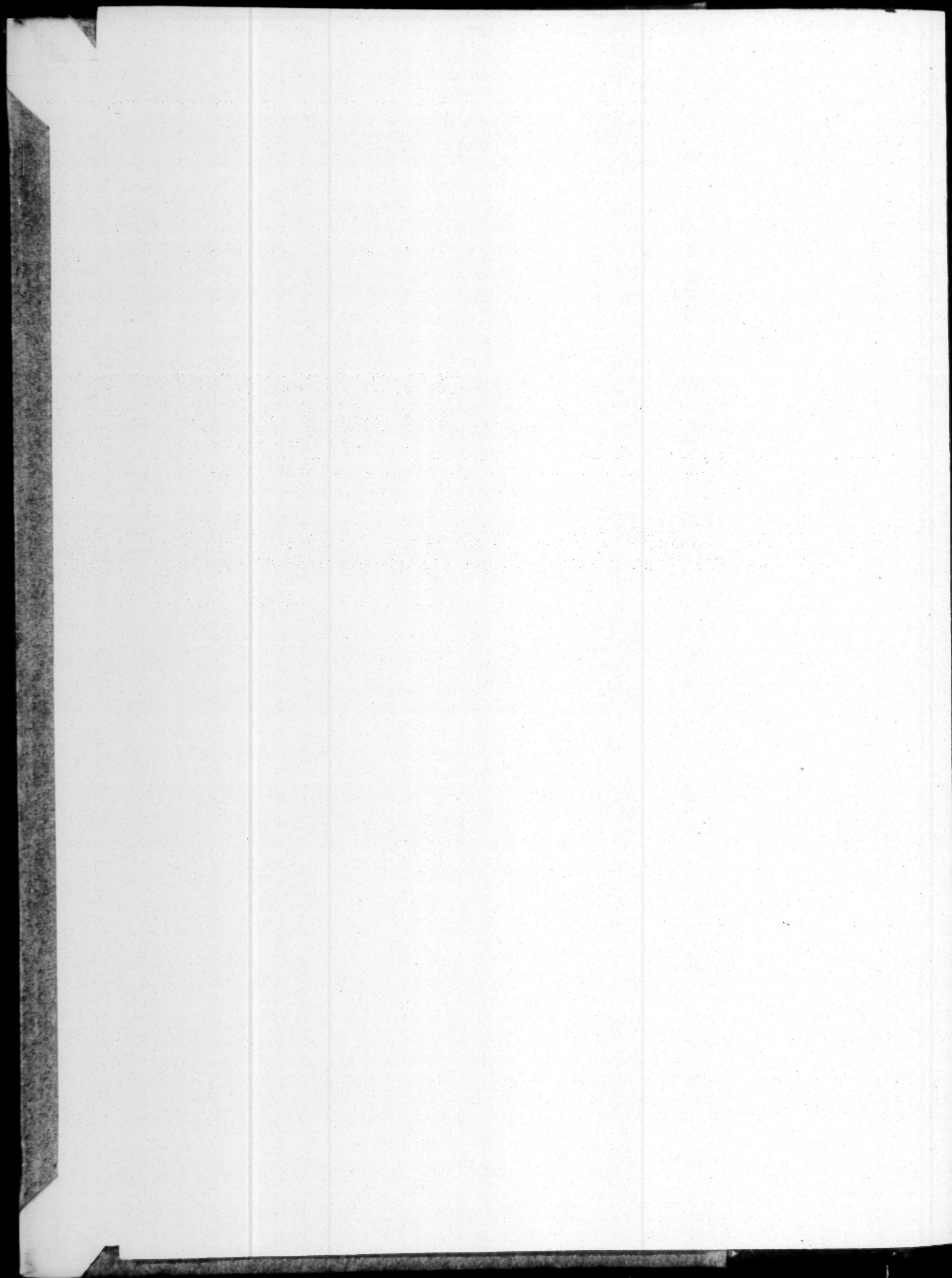
Stephen Gascolee

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Cornelius Agrippa was born of the noble family
of Nettesheim, at Cologne, on the 14th Sept 1486
from his early years until his last was
remarkable for a rare aptitude for study, and
for the retaining knowledge once acquired.
vide Gentleman's Mag^o Decr. 1856.

W. L.



Ed. H. Lethbriden

To Herman Davis

at my

request
J.H.



Wm. P. Wetbridge.

¶ Henrie Cornelius Agrippa, of the Vanitie and
vncertaintie of Artes and
Sciences, Englished by
Ja. San. Gent. #

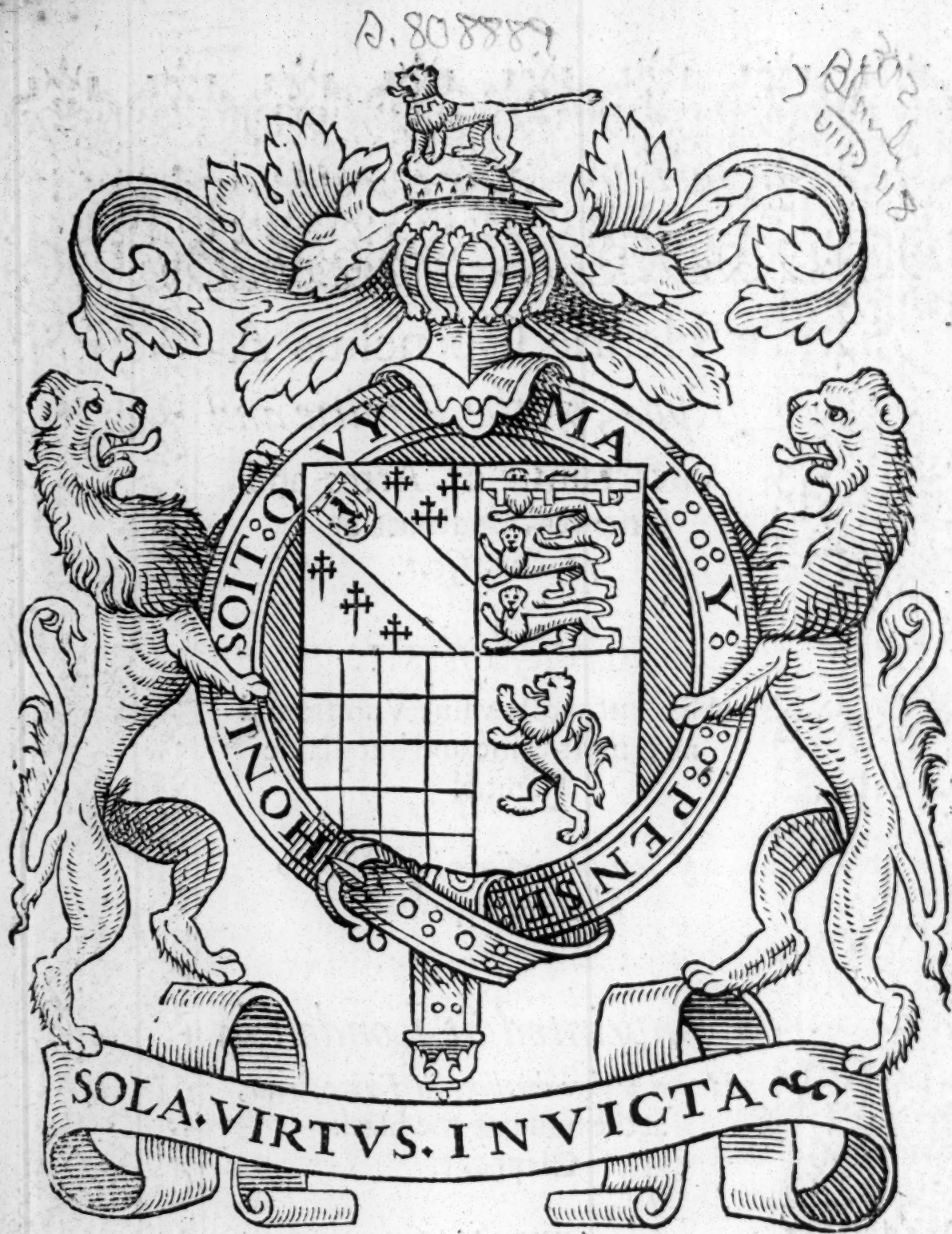
Ecclesiastes. i.

All is but moste vaine Vanitie: and
all is most vaine, and but plaine
Vanitie.

¶ Scene and allowed according to
the order appointed.

¶ Imprinted at London, by
Henry Wykes dwelling in Fleete street,
at the signe of the blacke
Elephant.

ANNO. 1569.



The Image of a Noble Prince, the Lion doth expresse,
 The Humble harmles scape, the Rebels he doth aie suppress:
 And as he Hunteth the Wolfe, so they that rule and governe well,
 Muste Theues destroy, and wicked men from publike Weale expell.

To the Noble and Vertuous Prince
Thomas Duke of Northfolke,
 Earle Marshal of England, one of the
Queenes Maiesties moste Honorable Prinie
 Councel, and Knight of the Honorable Order
 of the Garter, &c.



Eneas the Lapitha

(renowned Prince) he that
 fought with the Centaures, was
 so harde to be wounded, and with
 weapons to be pearced (as Pin-
 darus writeth) that when the
 Centaures with one consent as-
 sailing him, had layde vppon
 him a huge heape of woodes, he
 notwithstandinge was not van-

quished. But this our Agrippa, toke not weapons of Vul-
 cane, as Achilles and Eneas did, but of reason, whiche not
 onely maintaineth and defendeth the truthe, but also with deape
 insighte trieth, and as it were, sifteth the same from the false.
 So that the truth, by reasons meane, is made pure and inuiolate,
 and the vntruth, whiche obscureth it, is plainly perceaued. This
 man, made not sharpe warre with the Centaures, as the other
 did, but well neare with all Estates, Artes, and Sciences, whose
 abuses, he hath so vanquished and put to flight, that moste menne
 will asigne him the palme and price of Victorie. How many haue
 desired knowledges, Artes, and Sciences, and how fewe haue dete-
 cted their deceitfull abuses? Many seeke the good, but few find out
 the euill that lieth hidden therein: it is no lesse prayse to embrace
 vertue, then dispraise not to shun vice, the rewarde of vertue is
 euerlasting fame, and the guerdon of vice, is shamefull infamie: he
 is wise that is not deceaued by the counterfait shew of vertue, and
 he moste unwise, that rashly chuseth that whiche semeth good: for
 vices oftentimes put on the coloure of vertue. Mironides a lear-

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

ned Philosopher, and a wise Capitaine, saide, That the wisdom of a man, is not so much known by withdrawinge himselfe from the euill, as by choosinge the good, because that commonly vnder the euill any good cannot be hidden, but vnder the good muche euill maye be dissembled. Euen as the Enseigne beginneth Per signum Crucis, and endeth in Satanas and Barrabas: So likewise the great euils, take their beginninge in some good deedes, in suche wise that they be counterfaieted like Maskes, sugred like Pilles, and gilted like Renbarbe. There is no mā so senseles, which keapeth not himselfe from the euill, whiche is notoriously euill, but a wise man will beware of that whiche is knowne not to be altogether good. Themistocles the Philosopher, put all his felicitie in descending from a noble linage. Simonides the Philosopher, accompted the greatest happinesse to be well beloued of the people. Antisthenes put all his felicitie in renowme after his death. But Herillus placed the soueraigne good in learninge and knowledge, who shooteth wide of the marke for that, in no wise can be good, whiche is vaine, and uncertaine: howe than can the chiefe felicitie be founde therein? I neede not make in this place, any longe discourse to disproue the vanitee of Artes and Sciences, sith this Authour hath written thereof at large whiche Inglished, I addresse to your Grace, moste humbly beseechinge you, to accepte it as a pledge of a minde well affected towards your Honoure, whiche haue not onely the felicitie of Themistocles, to wete, honoure of Parentage, but which is more, haue also confirmed the same with Honour purchased by your owne vertue: you haue the felicitie of Simonides, for you are well beloued of the people: and also dyinge, shall haue the soueraigne good of Antisthenes, for your fame shall foreuer sounde in the eares of men: but to you liuinge, I wishe Nestors yeares, with continuall health, and encrease of Honoure.

Your Graces, most humble
to commaunde,

James Sanford.

To the Reader.



In al thinges (gentle Rea-

der) with which God endowed man at his creation nothinge is more to be esteemed then Reason, it foloweth, that the fruites thereof, that is, learninge and knowledge

Reason

shoulde be had in price. For what is more

to be desired then knowledge, the learning, then wisdom, which teacheth man to aspire to heavenly thinges, which guideth his doinges, and ruleth his affaires: wherefore

Phocilides saith the very well, *Wisdom* governeth *Fieldes, Cities,*

phocilides

and Shippes. For al thinges be happely exployted, which by

the helpe of wisdom are governed. Sapience proceedeth

of perfecte Reason, ioygned with Learninge, and Know-

ledge, which if it be true, then consequently it foloweth,

that Artes and Sciences are good. And although this Au-

thoure sharply inueigheth against them (which to the rude

multitude for that cause, maye seme naught and noysome)

yet his intent is, not to deface the worthinesse of Artes and

Sciences, but to reprove and deteete their euil vses, and de-

clare the excellencie of his wit in disprouinge them, for a

shewe of Learning: which euil vses, doubtles haue crept in,

thorough the peruerse doings of men. There is nothing in

this world, which is not corrupted, nor any learning which

is not abused, notwithstanding the whole circle or compasse

of Learning (the Seue Liberall Sciences I meane, called *En-*

encyclopaedia

yclopædia) is not to be neglected, and all humane Artes re-

iected: for like as diseased bodies, hauinge some infirmitie,

are not to be abandoned, but to be recured, preserved, and

chearished, so ought Sciēces and Knowledges (though there

lurke in them some abuse) not to be dispised, but with all

endeuour ought to be purged frō their chaffe, and brought

to their former perfection. VVho woulde geue credence

to this Authoure, and allow him, if he endeuoured to disa-

low al learnings? it is a vaine thing to dispraise all Know-

ledges, and a praise to deteete their vanitie. The Authour

To the Reader.

hereof walked in darknes, and together with his excellency of wit, he declareth in some places his blindnes of vnderstandinge: for in the. 2. 6. 57. Cap. he confirmeth as vaine thinges as he disproueth. Some peradventure wil objecte, that it is impossible for so excellent a man to erre and be deceiued, who in al learninges (as appeareth) was conuersant and well exercised: vnto whome maye be saide that whiche *Tullie* writeth in the firste of his *Offices*, where he saith. To be deceiued, to slide, to erre, and to be beguiled is mans propertie: and doubtles, no one man with exceeding great vse and experience of thinges, can attaine to so great skilfulnes and cunninge, that of himselfe he maye decerne al thinges, and not halt and be ouerseene in any, according to the saying of *Euripides* the Greeke Poete, One mā seeth not al thinges. *Socrates*, who by the Oracle of *Apollo*, was iudged the wisest of his age, cōfessed that he knew nothing at all, beside a certaine slender discipline of loue. If *Socrates* knewe so fewe thinges, then cannot this Authour knowe all thinges, whose knowledge, although it were great, yet greatly he erred, and no marueil, for he gaue his minde to vnleefull Artes, contrarie to the Lawes of God and man: for it is saide, and his workes testifie the same, that he exercised the Arte Magicke, and therein farre excelled all other of his time, but in the ende, his wicked knowledge was the cause of his miserable deathe: for as *John Manlius* a Germaine writer doth recorde, when he was at the pointe of death he called to him a dogge, whiche wente aboute with him and spake to him with these woordes. *Abi a me perdita bestia, quæ me perdidisti*: that is, Depart frō me thou wicked beast whiche hast destroyed me. So foorthwith the dogge departinge from him, caste himselfe headlonge into a riuer, this dogge was without doubt a Diuel of Hell. The naughtines of the time caused him to be naught, and to perseuer in erreure, for if he shoulde altogeather haue reuolted and gone from the Pope, his life would haue ben in daunger: in part he helde with the Pope and his ministers, maintayning his enor

To the Reader.

enormities, in part also he renounceth his Canons, as in the 94. Cap. appeareth, he inueigheth against the foule abuses of Bishops, Abbotes, Monkes, and Freers, and other suche like, defending also the Royal presence of Christ his body. It is likely, that if he had ben in as good a time as this is, he would haue don accordingly, but being in a corrupt time, he did as the time required: where darknes is, menne muste needes faile, and where wickednes raigneth, menne of force become naught. Like as the poisonous Cokatrice infecteth all thinges, so oftentimes the shadowe of naughty menne hurteth the good. One euill corrupteth an other, and euill put to euill, is cause of mutuall destruction: *Epictetus* the Stoicke Philosopher saith: Vnderstande, if thy companiō shalbe defiled, that he also whom he shal touch must needes be defiled, notwithstandinge he were cleane before: wherefore his faulte is to be ascribed to the time wherin he liued, and to the parsons with whom he was conuersant. I conferred an *Italian* translation with the Latine Copie, in the whiche I founde more then was mencioned in the Latine, whiche I haue put into my translation, the places where this is added, are in the 96. 98. 100. 101. Cap. betweene twoo starres with this forme * placed in the Margent. I coniecture that this booke in the *Italian* was translated out of that Copie, whiche the Authoure first published, and since that time other bookes of the same sort haue ben printed, and in printing some thinges haue ben either depraued by negligence, or lefte out of pourpose, because they sharply inueigh againste the Popes folowers, whiche coniecture is likeliest, for negligence of the Printer woulde haue appeared aswell in other places, as in these, if he beinge rechlesse, had don things without aduisement. VVherfore (friendly Reader) wel construe my doinges, take in good part my labours, amende the faultes that are ouerpassed in printinge, and defende this againste the malicious detractions of enuious *Zoilus*, then shall I accompte thee my friende, thinke my time well spent, and my paines requited.

The common places, or Chapters of the matters intreated in this Booke.

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Here endeth the Table.

Cornelius Agrippa, to
the Reader.



If not this my en-
terprise (studious Reas-
der) seeme vnto thee vali-
ant and aduenturous, &
almoste comparable to the
attampes of Hercules, to
take vp weapons against
all that Giaunt? force of
Sciences and Artes, and
to chalenge into the fielde

all these moste hardie hunters of Artes and Scien-
ces? The stateliness of the Doctours, the learninge
of the Practisers, the authoritie of the Maisters, the
endeuours of the Bachelours, the enuie of all the
Scholars, and the sedition of the Handicraftes men,
will murmure againste mee. Whiche if I shall van-
quish, will it not be so muche, or more, then to stryke
the Nemean Lyon with a mase, to kyll the Hider of
Lerna with fire: to slea the Boare of Arimanthus: to
take the Golden horned Harte in the Forreste of Me-
nalis: to shote thoroowe the Birdes Stymphalida in
the ayre: to strangle the Giante Anteus in mine ar-
mes: to fasten Pillers in the Oceane Sea: to ouer-
come the Triple headed Gerion: to riue awaie the
Oxen: to slea the Bull: to conquere Achelous hande
to hande: to steale away Diomedes hozles: to draue
Cerberus bounde in chaynes: to take awaie the Gol-
den apples of Hesperides, and many other noble ad-
uentures of this sorte, whiche were done by Hercules

A

with

Cornelius Agrippa

with greate labours, and with no lesse daunger, be-
ynge of no lesse trauaile, then perill to ouercome these
monsters of Studies and Scholes. And I well per-
ceiue what a blouddy battaile I haue to fighte with
them hande to hande, and how daungerous this fight
will be, seeinge that I am beset on every side with an
armie of so mightie ennemies. O with howe many
ingins will they assaile mee, & with howe many sha-
mes and villanies will they lode mee? First of all the
lowlye Graminarians will make a stirre, and with
their Ftymologies vppon Agrippa wil geue me a gow-
tie name: The pœuishe Poet? will put me in theyr
verses for Momus, or for Esopes Goate: The triflesel-
linge Historiographers will defame me more then
euer Pausanias and Herostratus was. The blustering
Oratours with irefull eyes, with terrible looks,
with shrill soundinge voyces, and with cruell gestu-
res, will accuse me of robbery. The monstous Re-
membzancers will breake my braine with their Im-
aginations. The obstinate Logitioners, will caste a-
gainste me infinite dartes of Sillogismes. The longe
tongued Sophisters, which wreast to euery part their
talke, with intricate snares of wordes, like a bridle,
will stoppe my mouthe. The barbarous Lullist with
vnfittinge wordes and Solesismes, will bringe my
head in a maze. The wicked Mathematiciens, will
bannishe me from Heauen and earthe. The Arith-
meticiens, Sonnebeame describers, will incense the
Usurers against me, compellinge me to render an ac-
compte of my debtes. The brawler Dicer will driue
me to the gallowes. The lotcassing Pythagorist wil
calculate for me infortunate numbers. The Geoman-
tian with his prick?, will caste for me imprisonment,
ladnes, and infortunate Figures. The Musicians
with

to the Reader.

with their many tunes, will me a laughinge stocke
thorowe the streates, and with iarringe soundes, and
vnpleasante ringinge of pannes, basons, and dishes
will trouble me moze, then they are wonte at their
weddinges which be twise married. The stately da-
mes will exlude me out of their daunces. The wan-
ton maydes will not kisse me. The bablinge hande-
maydes will scoffe at me as a daunsinge Camell. The
daunsinge player wil make a tragedie of me vpon his
bawdie stage. The Fencer with his hundreth hande
will assaulte me on the righte side, and on the left.
The doubtfull Geometricians, laiyng on me Trian-
gles, rownde, and square figures, will take me pry-
soner, beinge as it were entangled in Gordions knot.
The bayne worker in the arts Perspectiue, will en-
grauē and depainte me moze bzuitishe and deformed,
then an Ape or Thermites. The wandringe Cosmo-
graphers will bannishe me beyonde Muscouie, and the
frosen Sea. The Dedalean builder, with his moſte
mightie Ingins, will priuely vndermine me, and
compel me to wander in confuse Laberinthes. The
Infernal Miner wil condemne me to the Golden Mi-
nes. The Fatal Astrologers, wil threaten me to be
hanged, and with the vnstable turninge of the Hea-
uens wil forbidde me Paradise. The threating Di-
uiners, will wishe me all euill. The vnreasonable
Phisiognomer, wil defame me for a colde man, and of
small force in the acte of Venerie. The dotinge Me-
toposcoper, wil pronounce me a bzainesicke Ass. The
Diuininge Palmester, wil declare by his Diuination,
that al thinges shalbe to me vnfortunate. The force-
knowinge Southsaier, will geue me his blacke curse.
The monstrous Gunner, will cast against me the
reuenginge flames of Iupiter, & the fier of lightninge.

Cornelius Agrippa

The Interpretour of darke Dreames, will feare me with his horrible night Sprites. The furious Prophet, will deceiue me with his doubtfull Oracle. The monstrous Magitiens, wil transfozme me, as it were an other Apulei or Lucian, into an Asse, yet not of Golde, but perchance of dyte. The blacke Necromancer, wil persecute me with Spirites and Diuels. The Churchrobbinge Theurgist, wil offer my head to the crows, or perhappes to the iakes. The Circumcised Cabalistes, wil wishe me their foreskinne. The vayne and foolishe iuggler, will make me appære eyther headlesse or without stoanes. The contentious Philosophers, will teare me in pæces with most repugnant opinions. The iuggling Pithagoreans, wil make me go into a Dogge, and a Crocodile. The filthy and carpinge Cinickes, will close me vp in a Tunne, or a Graue. The pestilent Academickes, will crise vpon me to make my wyse common. The deuouringe Epicures, will kill me with surfetttinge. The wicked Peripatetickes, will make my soule mortall, and exclude it out of Paradise. The seuerer Stoikes, takynge away the grieve of mans minde, will transfozme me into a stone. The vaine Metaphisici, wil euery howze confounde my minde with Paradoxes of thinges that neuer were, nor neuer shalbe, as of the Demogorgoneon Chaos. The Morall Philosophers, correcters of manners, will wryte me in a hundzeth Tables. The politike Lawemaker, will forbidde me to beare Office in the Publike weale. The Voluptuous Prince, will bannishe me the Courte. The Ambitious Noblemen, will put me out of the Senate. The brainelesse People, will exclaime on me in the streates. The terrible Tirante Phalaris, will include me in his Bull to tormente me. The seditious Gouvernours, wil driue me

to the Reader.

me into banishment. The furious People, and the many headed cruell beast, without hearinge my cause will put me to deathe. Euery decayed Common weale will condemne me of Treason. The Couetous Priests, will excommunicate me. The Hooded Maskers, and spitefull Hipocrites, will rayle againste me out of the Pulpit. The Almightye Bishoppes, will reserve my sinnes for Euerlastinge fire. The Lecherous Whores, wil threaten to geue me the French Dock. The grædie Ruffian, and the bowlinge Balwe, wil gelde my purse. The scabbed Beggers wil exclude me out of their Hospitall. The wandzinge Pardoners, will offer me S. Anthonies fire, furious sclander, and depriue me of their Indulgences. The vnfaithful Stewarde, will make me indebted to the Bocherie. The blasphemous Mariner, will dash me againste Scylla. The false Marchante, will eate me out with Exchaunge and Usurie. The thæwthe Treasourer, will scale my stypende. The churlishe Husbandmen, wil forbid me their pleasant Gardens. The loytering Sheapherdes, wil geue me to the Wolfes. The watercoursinge Fisher, will laye a priue bayte for me. The hallowinge Hunter, will set his houndes and hawkes vpon me. The mightie armed Souldiour wil take my purse. The gallant Gentlemen wil caste me out of their companie. The Herauldes cladde in coats Armour, will take away my Auncestoures Armes, & forbiddinge me from ridinge at the Tylte (which they terme Turnamentes) will proclaime me for a tributary countrey man. The perbake Phisitians, will embzue me with Urine and Ordure: of the which the bablinge Logitioner, disputing of sickenesse, wil take from me a remedie in season. The rashe Practiser, with a doubtfull experiment, will put me in daunger

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of death. The subtle olde beaten Philition, deser-
ringe the remedies, wil prolonge the sicknesse for his
owne auayle. The filthy Apothecaries, will sucke me
drie with their Clifters. The geldinge Chirurgians,
will lie in wayte for my teethe and stones. The cruell
Anatomistes, will craue me for Infection. The filthie
Horseleache, will shutte me vp in a Brake, and will
blinde mine eyes with carte duste. The forginge Di-
eter will kill me with hunger. The thirstie Cooke wil
put an vnsauery gobbet in my mouth. The prodigall
Alcumiste will forbidde me his riches, and driue me
from his Fornace. The inuincible Iuriste, will cloye
me with greate and Huge Volumes of their Gloses.
The loftie Lawiers, will accuse me of Treason. The
arrogant Canonistes, will Excommunicate me with
cruell Cursinges. The brawlinge Advocates, will
bzing againste me syre hundzeth accusations. The
wylie Proctour, abandoninge my cause in Plea, will
by couins ioygne in Plea with mine aduersarie. The
doubtfull notarie, will subscribe falsely. The vntrea-
table Judge, will condemne me in mine Action, and
deny me the Apostles of Appeale, as they terme them.
The imperious Archescrbe Chauncellour, will not
admitte my supplication. The obstinate Diuine So-
phisticall Doctours, will call me Heretike, or compell
me to worshippinge their Idoles. Our grimme Maisters
wil enforce me to recante: and the Atlantes of Sorbo-
na, will hisse and clappe their handes at me. Powe
Reader, thou perceiuest thoroowe howe many daun-
gers I shall passe: Yet I hope easilie to escape these
assaultes, if thou, supportinge the tructhe, and set-
tinge enuie aparte, shalte come with a gentle minde
to the readinge of these thinges. Beside this, I haue
the Worde of God, wherewith to defende my selfe,
whiche

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whiche boldly I wil holde againste these for a Buckler and Shielde. And if it be expedient for me, whiche haue for the loue of him, stirred vp so many enemies againste me, I will willingly dye before I will abandon it. And I woulde haue thee vnderstande, that I wrote not these things for hatred, for ambition, for deceipte, or for erreure: neither a wicked desire, nor the arrogancie of a lewde minde, hath moued me to write this: but the cause of all men, moste iuste and righteous, because I see many waxe proude in Humane learninge and knowledge, that therefore they do despise and lothe, the Sacred and Canonically Scriptures of the Holie Ghoste, as rude and rusticall, because they haue no ornamentes of wordes, force of syllogismes, and affectate perswasions, nor the strange doctrine of the Philosophers: but are simply grounded vpon the operation of Vertue, and vpon bare Faith, but beside this they haue it in greate contempte. Wee see other also, the whiche although they seeme to them selues very Godly, notwithstandinge will proue and confirme the Lawes, with the Decrees of Philosophers, attributinge more to them, then to the Holie Prophetes of God, or to the Euangelistes, and Apostles, they beynge as contrary to them, as White is from Blacke. Furthermore, in many, and almoste in al places of studie, a peruerse custome, and damnable vse is growen, in that they binde with an othe, the schollers which they receiue to teache, neuer to speake against Aristotle, Boetius, Thomas, Albert, or against any other of their Schollers, beinge accompted as a God, from whom, if a man differ a fingers breadth in thought, immediately they will call him Heretike, a sinful person, an offendour of godly eares, and worthy to be burned. These then so vnadvised Giances,
and

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and enemies of the Holie Scriptures, are to be assailed, and their Fortresses and Castles ransaked, and to declare howe greate the blindenesse of men is, with so many Sciences and Artes, and with so many Masters and Authours, alwaies to erre from the knowledge of the Trueth: and howe greate a rashenesse, and presumptuous arrogancie it is, to preferre the schooles of Philosophers, before the Church of Christe:

And to set before, and make equiualent, the opinions of men, with the Worde of God. Finally,

what a wicked Tyrannie it is, to

bynde the wittes of Studetes to cer-

taine appointed Authours, and to

take from Schollers, the liber-

tie to searche and trace out

Trueth. All whiche

thinges, sith they

are so apparant

that they can

not be de-

nied,

I must haue

pardon, if to any

I shall seeme to haue

declaimed somewhat large

ly, and peraduenture sharply,

against any kinde of Learninge, or

against their Professours.

The Woorkes of Henry Cornelius
 Agrippa, of the vncertaintie and
 Vanitie of Sciences.

Of Sciences in generall. Capit. 1.



Tis an auncient, and

almoste an agreeable and common
 opinton, of all the Philosophers, by
 the whiche they thinke, that euery
 Science dothe bringe vnto man
 some ~~Vanitie~~, accordinge to the

*euery science bringe
 vnto man some limited*

capacitie and value of them both, so that oftentimes,
 beyonde the limites of Humanitie, they may be recke-
 ned amonge the felowship of the Good. From hence
 arose the diuers and infinite commendations of Sci-
 ences, with whiche euery man doth endeuour with
 no lesse eloquente, then longe discourse, to exalte and
 extoll aboue the Heauens, these Artes and Discipli-
 nes, in the whiche by continuall exercise, euery man
 hath whetted the strength of his witte. Notwith-
 standinge I, beinge perswaded with other kinde of
 reasons, am of opinion, that there can chaunce to the
 life and saluation of our Soules, nothinge more hurt-
 full and pestilente, then these Artes and Sciences.

*nothing more pestilent
 or hurtfull vnto our
 life and soules then
 sciences.*

Wherefore, I thinke good to entreate with a contra-
 ry order, and my opinion is, that the Sciences ought
 not to be extolled with so great praises, but rather for
 the moste parte, to be despised: and that there is none
 whiche is without iuste blame and reprehension, nor
 that of it selfe deserueth praise, but that whiche it get-
 teth of his honestie that professeth the same. I desire,

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that this my Iudgement be receiued of you, with that modestie, that ye thinke not that I woulde reprove other, whiche are of a contrary opinion: neither to attribute to my selfe any thinge ouer proudly. Therefore pardon me, if herein I disagree from others, vntill I shal beginne this mine opinion at euery Science by the order of the letters, not onely with common argumentes, and taken from the outwarde shewe of thinges, but with very stronge reasons, and suche as are sifted out of the inwarde bowelles of thinges: not with any subtile eloquence of Demosthenes or Chrysippus (the whiche shoulde be a shamefull thinge for me, professinge Diuinitie) as one that loneth flattery, if I should seeke for the counterfaite coulers of speech: For that a professour of the Holy Scripture, ought to speake Properly, and not Eloquently: and to searche out the veritie of the matter, and not the garnishinge of speache, for the seate of Trueth is in the harte, and not in the tounge: Neither doth it make any matter, what speache we vse in tellinge of the Trueth, because that a Lie needeth eloquence and pleasant speach, that it may pearce and creepe into the minde of men: but the speache of Trueth (as Euripides writeth) is simple, not seekinge for painted and coloured wordes. If so be then, I shall printe in your moste delicate eares, this my enterprise, without any flower of eloquence (the which is now of vs aswell to be neglected, as blamed) I pray you to endure this with that patience, with the which that Romaine Emperour in time past did, when he stode still with his arme, to here a poore woman speake: and the kinge Archisilaus sometime woulde here men of a boarse and vnpleasant voice, because that heringe afterward eloquent men, he might conceaue greater pleasure. Remember this saynge
of

The duetie
of a Diuine

Trueth re-
quireth sim-
ple woords

The saying
of Theo-
phrast.

of Theophrastus, that euen the ignozant may speake in pzeſence of the wyſeſt and mightieſt men, ſo that they ſpeake with faithfulneſſe and reaſon. And that I may not ſuffer you to geue eare in vaine, I wil now ſette befoze your eyes, with what footinge, and traſſinge (as though with houndes) I haue ſounde out this my ſaide opinion. If firſte I ſhall admoniſhe you, that all Sciences be as well naught as good, and that it bzingeſh to vs, aboue the limite of Humanitie, none other bleſſing of the Deitie, but that perchance, which that auncient Serpent promiſed to our firſte parent, ſaiynge, Ye ſhalbe as Goddes, and ſhall know good and ill. He ſhall then vaunte himſelfe in this Serpente, whiche boſteth himſelfe to haue knowledge, as wee reade in dæde that the Heretikes Ophiti did, whiche worſhipped the Serpente in their Sacrifices, ſaiynge, That he hath brought the knowledge of Vertue into Paradice. With theſe agreeth the hiltorie of Plato, that a certaine Spirite, called Theutus, enemie to mankind, was the firſt deuifer of Sciences, no leſſe hurtful then profitable: as very wiſely ſaide Thamus kinge of Egypte, reaſoninge of the inuentours of Sciences and Letters. Hereof it commeth to paſſe, that all Gram- marians, for the moſte parte, doe expounde this word Dæmon, that is, a Spirite, as if it were Sapiens, that is, Wiſe: but put the caſe it be ſo, let vs leave theſe Fables to their Poetes and Philoſophers, and lette there be no other inuentours of Sciences then men, and we knowe that they were the childzen of a moſte wicked generation, I meane, the childzen of Cain, and of whiche is truely ſpoken: The children of this world, is more wiſe then the children of light, in this generation. Wherefore if men be the Inuenters of Sciences, is not euerie man a lier, neither is there one that

A Spirite
inuentour
of Sciences.

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both good: But let vs say, that there are againe some good men, shall not then the Sciences haue no goodnesse, nor trueth, exceptinge that, which they take & get of the that professe & possesse the same? For if they chaunce vpon any naughtie man, they shalbe hurtful, and of an ill man, they will make a worse: As a peruerse Grammarian, a vaine Poete, a liy nge Historiographer, a flatteringe Rhetorician, a boasting professour of Demorie, a struinge Logitioner, a cauelinge Sophister, a pratinge Lullist, a lotcasinge Arithmetician, a lasciuious Musitian, an impudente Dauncer, a vauntinge Geometrician, a wandzinge Cosmographer, a pernicious Builder, a thæuisme Mariner, a false Astronomer, a wicked Witch, a dissolotal Cabalist, a dreaming Naturall Philosopher, a monstrous teller of Supernaturall thinges, a wayward Morall Philosopher, an vniust Politike person, a tyrannouse Prince, an oppressing Magistrate, a sedicious People, a Sismatical Priest, a Superstitious Munke, a Prodigall Householder, a falsesworne Marchaunte, a robbing Treasourer, a sluggishe Husbandman, a thæuisme Sheaphearde, a backebiting Fisher, a stealinge Hunter, a spoiling Souldiour, a Nobleman powler of his tenantes, a murdering Whiscon, a poysoninge Apothecarie, a raueninge Cooke, an abusinge Alcumiste, a subtile Lawier, an Aduocate defendinge a thousande Ribaldries, a false Notarie, a Iudge corrupte, and a thiefe in his Honourable seate of Iudgemente, an Heretical Diuine, and a misleader of the whole multitude. And truely there is nothinge moze vnprofitable, then an Arte, & a Science, hedged in with wickednesse: and the greatest and best learned Artificer, is the worste anthour of naughtie thinges. But, if this Science be founde in some man, not so naught, as wolthe, yet there may none in the world:

worlde, be more proud and unreasonable then he: for besides that whiche he hath in him of natural folie, the authoritie of Learninge defendeth it, and hath the Letters, for an instrument to mainteine his madnes: the whiche, because that other folles doe wante, they frensie is more milder, as saith Plato of the Oratour. For (saith he) the more vnwise, and vnlearned he shalbe, the more thinges he wil speake: he will counterfaite all thinges, and will thinke that nothinge is vnmeete for him. Wherefore, there is nothinge more pestilente, then aduisedlie to dote. But, if some good and wyse man possesse the same, peradventure the Sciences, wilbe good and available to the Common Weale, yet therefore they will not make their possessor the more blessed: for (as Porphirius and Iamblicus say) the heapinge together of wordes, and the multitude of learninges, is a blessednesse, whiche receiveth no increase, accordinge to the quantitie of reasons & wordes. But if it were so, that nothinge shoulde hinder them, from beinge happie, whiche haue gathered together all learninges: and he whiche wanteth these, unhappie: so the Philosophers, shall be more blessed, then Gods Ministers. For the true felicitie, consisteth not in the knowledge of goodnesse, but in a good life: not in vnderstandinge, but in liuinge, with vnderstandinge: For not the good vnderstandinge, but the good will, toygneth men vnto God. Neither doe the Sciences any thinge els, beinge outwardly applied vnto vs, but that they geue vs, a certaine purgeinge estate, abailynge somewhat to Felicitie: yet they shewe not the verie waye, whereby wee maye be made altogether happie, excepte they haue a life translated into the verie nature of Goodnesse: For as Cicero saith, descending Archias, It hath bene very often founde, that

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nature without learninge, hath anailed more to gette
praise and vertue, then learninge without nature.
It shall not then be necessarie for vs, to fill the minde,
with so longe, so difficulte, and vneth vnsearcheable
learnings of all Sciences, as the Auerroistes doe af-
firme: the whiche, Aristotle him selfe saith, to be the
moste common felicitie, and to the which, al men may
easily attaine, through a certaine doctrine & diligence,
whiche (he saith) to be an easie, and as it were a com-
mon power of beholding the obiecte, the noblest aboue
all other, that is God: the whiche acte truely of con-
templation, beinge so easie and common to all men,
is not made perfecte with Syllogismes and Demonstra-
tions, but with Beliefe and Worshipp. What felici-
tie then, is there now in Sciences: Or what is the
praise, and the blessednesse of wise men, and Philoso-
phers, of whom all Schooles do ringe and sounde,
with their glorie, whose Soules Hell heare and see,
to be tormented with cruell punishmentes: Augu-
stine knewe this, and was afraide, speakinge with a
lowde voice, this saynge of Paule: The Ignorante
arise, and take the Kingedome of Heauen: and we with
our learninge, fall headlonge into Hell. And if it be
leefull to confesse the trueth, the doctrine of euery Sci-
ence, is so dangerous, and vnstable, that it is much
more suretie, to be ignorant, then learned. Adam
had neuer bene banished out of the Paradise of Bles-
sednesse, if he had not learned, of his maister the Ser-
pente, to knowe good and ill. And Paule willeth, that
they shoulde be chased out of the Church, that would
knowe more then they ought. Socrates, after that he
had founde out welneare al learnings, was then iud-
ged, by the Oracle, of all men the wisest, when open-
ly he confessed, to knowe nothinge. The knowledge
of

that they should be
used ought of the
which, that would
knowe more then they ought

of the Vanitie of Sciences. 4.

of all Sciences, is so difficulte (I will not say impossible) that all mans life will faile, before one small iote of learning, maie perfectly be founde out: which thing, it seemeth vnto me, that Ecclesiastes affirmeth, when he saith: I haue vnderstoode, that man can not finde out any reason, of the woorkes of God, of them which are vnder the Sonne, and the more he shall labour to searche, the lesse he shall finde: although the wise man saie, that he knoweth them, he shall not be able to finde them. Nothinge can chaunce vnto man more pestilente, then knowledge: this is the very pestilence, that putteth all mankinde to ruine, the which chaseth awaie all Innocencie, and hath made vs subiecte to so many kindes of sinne, and to death also: whiche hath extinguished the light of Faith, castinge our Soules into blinde darkenesse: which condemninge the trueth, hath placed errors in the hiest throne. Wherefore Valentianus the Emperour seemeth not to be despised, who (as it is reported) was an ennemie to learninge: Neither Licinius the Emperour, who was accustomed to saie, that Learninge was a poyson, and a publike pestilence: but which is more, Valerius saith, that Cicero him selfe, the moste abundant wellspringe of Learninge, despised it at length. And so large is the libertie of the Trueth, and the largenesse thereof so free, that it can not be perceiued, with the speculations of any Science, nor with any strait iudgement of the Sences, nor with any argumentes of the Arte of Logike, nor with any euident pꝛofe, with no Sillogismes of Demonstration, nor with any discourse of mans reason, but with Faithe Onely: whiche who so hath, is named of Aristotle, in his firste booke of Resolutions, better disposed, then if he were learned: the whiche thinge Philopomus expoundeth, saynge, that

the

Ecclesiast. 3.

Nothinge
more pesti-
lent then
Science.

Valentian^s
an ennemie
to learninge

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the man whiche knoweth it thus, is better then he whiche knoweth by Demonstration, which is done by the cause. Theophrastus, in his booke of Transnatural things, saith this: We may contemplate, euen vntill some thinge by the cause, takinge the beginnings at the Sences: but when we haue passed ouer with the endes and the beginniges, we can knowe no more, either because we haue not the Cause, or for the infirmitie of our vnderstandinge. And Plato in Timæus, saith, That to expounde these thinges, is aboue our reache, but willethe credite to be geuen to them, who haue spoken of it before, albeit they speake not, with any necessitie of Demonstration: For the Academikes were had in price, the whiche saide, that nothinge might be affirmed: There were the Pirronikes, and many other, that affirmed nothinge. Therefore, Science hath no especiall thinge, aboue the very Belæse, that is, where the goodnesse of the Authour, moueth the free will of the Schollers Belæse. Hereof springeth this saipnge of the Pythagoreans, spoken of their Maister, Ipse dixit, that is, We hath spoken it: And that common Proverbe of the Peripatetikes, We must belæue euery cunninge man in his Arte. So we belæue the Grammarian, in the signification of wordes. The Logitioner, geueth creditt to y^e Partes of Speache, receiued of the Grammarian. The Rhetorician, taketh of the Logitioner, places of Argumentacion. The Poete bozoweth measures of the Musitian. The Geometrician, taketh Proportions of the Arithmetrician. The Astrologian, geueth credite to bothe. Furthermore, the Supernaturall Philosophers, vse the coniectures of Naturall Philosophers: And euery Artificer, dooth presume well of the Statutes of an other. For every Science, hath in
it

αὐτός ἐφα

It some certaine Principles, which must be beleued, and can not by any meanes be declared: which if any will obstinately deny, the Philosophers haue not wherewith to dispute against him, and immediately they wil saie, that there is no disputacion against him, whiche denieth the Principles: or els will constraine him to flée vnto some other thinges, without the limites of learninge: As if any (say they) shall denie the fyre is hote, let him be cast into the fyre, and let him be demaunded what he feeleth: so finally, of Philosophers, they are made tormentours and hangmen, for they will by force, compell vs to confesse that, whiche they shoulde teache by reason. Therefore there is nothinge more noysome, nor more hurtfull to the Publike weale, then Learninge and Sciences, wherein if there be men endowed with erudition and knowledge, matters are, for the moste parte, executed at their will, as those which knowe moste: and trustinge in the simplicitie of the people, and in the ignorance of the multitude, they take to them selues, againste righte and reason, all the authoritie of Office, whereupon the state of the Common wealthe passeth from the peoples rule, to the rule of a fewe, and afterwarde, deuided into partes, doth soone turne to Tyrannie: whiche, no man is reade at any tyme, in all the worlde, to haue obtained without Science, without Doctrine, or without Learninge, excepte Lucius Scylla the Dictatour onely, who tooke rule in hand without learninge: wherein notwithstandinge, the Weale Publike is very muche bounde to the ignorance of Learninge, for this, that in the ende, of his owne free will he layde Tyrannie aside. Moreover, all Sciences are nothinge els, but the ordinaunces and opinions of men, so noysome as profitable, so pestilent as and opinion hollesome, so ill as good, in no parte perfecte, but doubtful ons of men. and full of errour and contention: and that this is true, we will now declare it, passinge from one to one, thoroughout all the doctrines of Sciences.

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Of the Charecters of the Letters. Cap. 2.

The Cal-
dean Let-
ters were
first before
other.

Firste of all, who doth not see, that the Artes of well speakinge, I meane Grammer, Logike, and Rhetorike, the whiche onely be entries, and dozes to Sciences, and not Sciences, oftentimes they bringe with them no lesse pestilence then pleasure, in the whiche yet there is no other rule of the Trueth, then the decrees and will of some, that did firste teache: the which thinge is moste manifestly scene, even by the very inuention of Letters, whiche are the firste elementes, and instrumentes of these Artes: Of the whiche, the firste were the Chaldean letters, inuented by Abraham, as Philo saith, whiche the Chaldeans, Assirians, and Phoenicians did vse: but there are some whiche say, that Rhadamanthus firste gaue Letters to the Assirians. Afterwarde Moises gaue Letters to the Jewes, peradventure not with these Characters, which are vled nowe adayes, which are thought to be inuented by Esre, who is supposed to haue written almoste all the booke of the Olde Testamente. Furthemoze, a certaine man called Linus Chalcides, brought the Letters of the Phoenicians to the Græcians, whiche vled them, untill Cadmus, Agenors sonne, gaue them newe Letters, with an other Character, which were firste in number, to the whiche Palamedes in the Troiane warre added fower, afterwarde Sinonides Melicus added other fower. But the firste that taught the Egyptians the vse of writinge, was a certaine man named Memoura, by the figures of beastes, as it is scene in the Piramides: and the firste that gaue them Letters, was Mercurius, that is he, whiche Lactantius saith, to be the fiste Mercurius, to whom, Vulcanus the sonne of Nilus, succeeded in the Kingedome. A woman called Nicostrata, surnamed Carmenta, gaue Letters to the Latines. Wherefore in times paste, seven kinde of Letters were had in price, the Hebrew, the Greeke, the Latine, the Syrian, the Chaldean, the Egyptian, and the Geticke, of the which Crinitus

of the Vanitie of Sciences. 6

nitus saith, that he read in an auncient booke, these verses followinge,

Firste *Moses* wrote the *Hebrew*.

The *Phœnices* with witte the *Greeke* did deuise.

Nicostrara and *Abram* made Characters,

Of one the *Latine* letters did firste rise,

The *Sirian* did the other firste finde out,

The same man eke the *Chaldean* did inuent.

With no lesse arte did *Isis* goe aboute

To write the *Gyptian* letters. The last sent

Galsilla letters to the *Geetes* abroad.

Afterwarde, the other People, and barbarous Nations, in the later times inuented Letters: For the Bishoppe Gordianus, gaue Letters to the Gothes, and the auncient Frenchmen (the whiche made Fraunce subiecte to Marcomir and Pharamonde) had the Characters of their Letters little differinge from the Greekes, with the whiche Vastalde wrote an Historie in their tounge, but he is not knowne whiche inuented these Letters: there are yet extant other letters of the Frenchmen, the whiche a certaine man called Doracus did deuise, but muche differinge from the Character of Vastald: and other afterwarde inuited by Hichus the Frenchman, who came with Marcomir to the entrie of the ryuer of Rhene from Scithia, Moreouer, Beda hath written of some, but the inuentour is not knowne, whiche were the Letters of certaine Normans. And many other Nations, in like manner haue either made newe Characters of Letters, or haue partly chaunged them, beyng taken of the Auncientes, or els haue corrupted them, as the Dalmatians haue the Greeke, and the Armenians the Calde: but the Gothes and Longobardes, haue disfigured the Characters of the Latine Letters. Moreouer, many aunciente Letters haue perished, as them of the auncient Tuscans, the whiche (as Plinie and Liue testified) were in times paste, had in greate price amonge the Romans, and

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at this daie the forme of them is scene in the aunciente Monumentes, but altogether vnknowne: for when the Romanes in times past, had all the worlde in subiection, the aunciente and proper Letters of euery Nation being canceled and rased, they by compulsion ioygned them to vse their Letters. In this manner perished the Letters of the Hebrewes, when they were ledde captiue into Babylon, and their language was corrupted by the Caldees. In lyke sorte were losse the auncient Letters of the Germans, Frenchemen, Spaniardes, and other Nations, when the Romane Characters were brought in their place, and the languages of these Nations were corrupted & chaunged. Contrarywise the Letters and language of the Romans, were againe corrupted and altered by the Gothes, Longobardes, Frenchemen, and other barbarous Nations: Neither is the Latine tounge in these daies, as it was in times past: and there is a great contention of the Hebrew tounge and Character, betwene the Thalmudistes: For maister Iehuda saithe, that the firste parente Adam spake in the Aramean tounge: Marsura saithe, that the lawe geuen by Moises, was in the Character, which is called the Hebrew, but in the Holy tounge, the whiche beyng chaunged by Esdras into the Aramean tounge, and Assirian Characters, a while after, keepinge the Assirian Characters, toke againe the Holy tounge, hauinge liste the Hebrew Character, with the Aramean tounge, to the Chusi, that is, to them, that together haue receaued the Lawe, and worshippe Idolles, as the Samaritanes were. Some other say, that from the beginninge the Lawe was not written with other Characters, then with them that be vsed at this present, but for sinne sometimes the Character was changed, and after repentance restored againe. Rabbi Simon, the sonne of Eleasar, thinketh that the language and Character, was neuer chaunged, in so much that touchinge Hebraical matters, there is founde nothinge of certaintee amonge the Hebrewes

Hebrewes them selues: and this is the alteration of times, that there are no Letters, no Touniges, the whiche at this day do acknowledge, or vnderstande the forme or manner of their Antiquitee.

Of Grammer. Cap. 3.

But of these biginnings, so vnconstant, and at euery season so mutable, of letters (I speake) and touniges, did Grammer firste proceede, and after that the other Artes of well speakinge, of the whiche we haue made mention. For seeinge that it seemed not sufficient to knowe the letters, excepte they were ioyned with a certaine degree, and forme, and so of the letters sillables, and finally, of these were framed woordes, and for the vnderstandinge of speache were ioyned together, wyle men haue taken in hande to make rules of speaking, that is, the constructions of the Regimente, and of the Significates, and, as it were, to bridle the tounge, that whatsoeuer should be spoken according to them, might be well spoke, & should be the Arte of well speakinge, & they haue termed this Arte Grammer: it is sayde, that amonge the Greekes, Prometheus was the firste inuentour therof: the firste that broughte it to Rome, was a certaine man called Crates Mallotes, sente by Attalus to the Senate, betwene the seconde and thyrde Punicke warre, the which afterwarde Palemon professed with greate pompe, in so much that he gaue name to the Arte, and Grammer was called Palemons Arte: he was a very arrogant man, that he auaunted that knowledge tooke beginninge with him, and shoulde die with him: and so proude, that he had in contempte all the best learned men of his time: and was so bolde to call Marcus Varro him selfe a pigge. Notwithstandinge, the Latine Grammer is so poore & needinge, & bounde to the Greeke literature, that he which vnderstandeth not this, is incontinentlie to be reiected out of the number of Grammarians. Wherefore all the feate

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of literature or grammar, consisteth but in the only vse and authoritie of the Elders, to whom it liked that euery thing shoulde be so called and written, and that the wordes shoulde be so construed and made, the whiche thing they did then terme to be wel spoken. Whereupon Grammar dothe of righte boaste her selfe to be the arte of speakinge, but falsly, sithe that we learne it much better of oure mothers, & of nourises, then of the Grammarians. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, framed their speache, the whiche were accompted verie eloquente. Istrina taughte her sonne Siles the græke tongue, whose Father Aripithes was Kinge of Scithia. It is knowne that in manye prouinces people were broughte in out of strange Nations, and that theire sonnes alwaies keppe their mothers speache. Hereof Plato & Quintilian did so carefullie ordaine, that a maete Nourise shoulde be chosen for children. God forbidde then, that we should deriue from them, to the Grammarians, this maner of wel speakinge, the whiche, for so muche as they professe nothing besides Grammar alone, do knowe nothing lesse. For Priscian coulde not learne this, no not in all his lifetime: and it is saide, that Didimus wrote thereof fowre thousande booke, or as somme saie, sixe thousande. We reade, that Claudius Cæsar, was so mutche geuen to the græke Letters, that he added thre newe Letters to that tongue, which afterwarde, being Emperoure, he did not omitte. And Charles the great, deuised a Grammar of the Germaine tongue, and gaue newe names to the Moethes and Windes. And continuallie vntil this daie menne labour day and night, Commentaries are written, Elegancies, Questions, Annotations, compendious expositiones, Obseruations, Castigations, Centuriæ, Muscellanea, Antiquities, Paradoxes, Collections, Additions, Lucubrations, Edition vpon Edition. And in the meane space, there are published so manie Grammars, as there be Grammarians. Notwithstanding, none of them,

them, whether he were Greeke or Latine, hath rendred a reason, howe the Partes of Speache should be distinguished, what order is to be obserued in their construction: whether there be xv. pronounes onlie, as Priscian thinketh, or more as Diomedes and Phoca woulde: whether a Participle put by him selfe, doth remaine sometime for a Participle: whether the Gerundes, be Nounes, or Verbes. Why the Greekes do ioine the plural nounes of the neuter gendre, with a verbe of the singular number. By what reason is it lawfull for the Latins to pronounce in um, nounes endinge in u and us, as for Margarita, Margaritum, for punctus, punctum. By what meanes the nominatiue case of Iupiter, maketh Iouis, in the genitiue case. And by what reason, some do allowe Verbes newaters, some other do exclude them. Why some do write many Latine wordes with a Greeke diphthonge, some not, as foelix & quaestio. And whether in latine these diphthonges oe, and æ are only written, and not pronounced, or els both vowels, as they are written, so vnder one syllable be pronounced. In like manner why it is, that in many latine wordes some vse y græke y, other the latine i, only, as in confidero. Also certaine me in some wordes do double the letters, some not, as in caussa and relligio. Why caccabus, hauing the firste sillable longe by the position of the double cc, notwithstanding of many Poetes is for the most parte made shorthe. Also whether Aristotles anima should be written endelechia by delta, or entelichia by tau: I leaue to speake of infinite contentions of theirs, which wil neuer cease, of Accentus, of Orthographie, of Pronuntiation, of Letters, of Figures, of Etimologie, of Analogie, & other preceptes, & rules, Declensions, & modes of signification, of y Alteration of cases, & varietie of times, of modes, of persons, of numbers & of diuers impedimētes & order of construction. And finally, of y number, and genealogie, of the latine letters: and whether H, be a letter or not, and many other like thinges. So not onely in wordes and sillables they do differ one from

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*Grammas
rians cause
much mis-
chiefe.*

from an other, but also in the Letters, without gentinge of any reason. Sutch a sighte did Lucianus Samothensis sportingly write, in a very pleasant booke, of the consonantes S. T. the example whereof, may be geuen in thalassa and thalatta. One Andreas Salernitanus, wrote also with studious eloquence the Grammatical warre, vpon the same matter. But these thinge are fewe in number, and meane. We may speake more thinges & greater, of the corrupte interpretation of wordes, with which they doe so muche deceiue the whole worlde: of the which arise no small mischicfes in the Common wealth, while they expounde bondage to be subiecte to the lawes, and interprete that to be libertie of Citisens, where it is lawfull for euery man to doe what he listeth, and they terme that Isonomia, that is, equalitæ of lawe, where to all men, without difference, is ministred one iustice, one honoure, and one rewarde. In like manner they saie, that Emppre to be quiet, where all thinges are gouerned to the Princes pleasure: moste happie, where the people doe abounde in Lecherie and Idlenesse. And with infinite like expositions, Phisicke, the lawes, and Canons, are corrupted, with the whiche, they doe euer compell the Holie Scripture, and Chyste him selfe, to disagree from him selfe, wrestinge them, not to the meanninge of the Holie Ghoste, neither to the common saluation of men, but to their owne commoditie. Of the whiche thinge oftentimes men haue incurred verie great daungers, as erreure in wordes is wonte to cause erreure in thinges. Like as Saule the firste kinge of the Hebrewes, in tymes passe was deceaued in the worde Zobar, the which signifieth, Masculine, and Remembraunce, when God had spoken, I will rase out the remembraunce of Amelech, Saule supposed, if he had destroyed the Gales, he had obeyed Gods commaundement. There chaunced the like errour to the Greekes, & to the Latines, in the word Phos, the which signifieth a Man, and the Lighte: wherupon

upon the Priestes of the Saturnalia in times paste beinge
 deceiued in the ambiguitie of the worde, offered euerie
 yere a man to Saturnus, when they mighte aswell haue
 appeased him with of burninge lightes. The whiche
 Nation beinge so foolish, in the ende was redressed by
 Hercules, that afterwarde they became wise. At length
 also the Diuines, & the hooded Friers puttinge theselues
 in emonge the Grammarians, were at daggers draw-
 inge, for the signification of wordes, with many additi-
 ons of Heresies, turninge topsytturue the Scriptures,
 by reason of Grammar, beinge become naughtie inter-
 pretours of thinges, that are well spoken, vaine men,
 and verelie unhappie, makinge them selues blinde with
 their owne arte, sleinge the lighte of the truth: & whilest
 ouer curiously they searche out the vertue of wordes,
 they will not vnderstande the sence of the Scriptures,
 but takinge holde on the bare wordes, do stae vpon
 them, subuertinge, and losinge the wordes of the truthe.
 As it is saide of a Prieste (whether it be true, or a Fable) *A Fable of
 a Prieste.*
 who when he had many burnt offrings, to the ende he
 mighte not offende againste Grammar, he consecrated
 them with these wordes, Hæc sunt Corpora mea, that
 is, these are my Bodies. But from whence came that
 wicked Heresie of the Antidicomariatans, and of the El-
 uidians, the whiche denie the perpetuall virginitee of the
 gloriouse virgine Marie, mother of Chriſte, but of this
 onely worde Donec? where it is reade in the Gospell,
 that Ioseph did not knowe her vntil shee had brought
 forth her firſte begotten Sonne. What greate conten-
 tion haue these two little wordes, Ex, and Per, raised be-
 twene the Græke, and the Latine Churches: the Latins
 affirminge that the Holy Ghoste proceedeth of the Fa-
 ther and the Sonne, and the Grækes sayinge that not of
 the Sonne, but of the Father, by the Sonne. Againe how
 many Tragedies hath this worde Nisi, moued in the
 Counsaile of Basell? The Bohemians affirminge, that
 D the

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the Communion of bothe Kindes is necessarie, because it is witten: Excepte yee shall eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his Bloude, yee shall haue no life in you. From whence came that Opinion of the VValden-
ses and their followers, and of others of later time, about the Eucharist, but of this worde, is, whiche they woulde haue onely to be spoken Symbolically, and significatiuely, and that there is a figure in the wordes, the Romishe Church expoundinge it essentially? There are besides other damnable Heresies emonge the Grammarians, but so obscure and so subtile, that excepte the verie wilie Diuines of Oxforde, and the Sorbonistes of Paris, had perceiued them with their percinge eyes, and condemned them with their profounde iudgementes, scarce any coulde beware. Of this sorte are these, if any will bpightly iudge this a like well spoken, Christus prædicat, Christus prædicat, Ego credis, tu credit, credens est ego. And that this worde Manens maie be depriued of al his Accidentes. And that no Powne is of the third person, and suche like. The whiche truely if they shoulde be called Heresies, firste of all the Prophetes Esay, and Malachie, shalbe Heretiques: bothe of whiche, bringe in God speakinge of him selfe: the firste to Ezechiel, with these wordes: Ecce ego addet super dies tuos &c. For he doth not saie, Addam in the first person, but Addet in the third person. The other saith in this manner: & si Domini ego, ubi est timor meus? in the which place he maketh that God calleth him selfe Domini in the plurall number. There be infinite thinges like vnto these: and it is a pitifull case in our age, to see what greate contentions and errours the obstinate Grammarians, & the proude Sophisters doe stirre vp, with their peruerse interpretations of wordes, while some doe gather of wordes, sentences, other contrariwise, gather wordes of Sentences. Here of infinite contentions and errours doe daieley arise in Physicke, in bothe Lawes, in Philosophie, in Diuinitie,
and

and in other faculties of Learninge. For the Grammarians declare nothinge, but leane to authorities alone, whiche verie oftentimes are emonge them selues so variable, and disagreeinge, that it muste needes be, that mosse of them are false: in whose pꝛceptes who so doe greatly truste, speake worste of al the reste, because that all the manner and force of speache is not in the Grammarians, but emonge the people, and getteth the vse of well speakinge by common custome: But after that the Barbarians began to haue the vpper hand, the purenesse of the Latine tongue ceased to be emong the people, notwithstandinge the rule thereof is not to be taken of Grammarians, but of substantiall and learned wꝛiters, as of Cicero, Cato, Varro, bothe Plinies, Quintilian, Seneca, Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Titus Liuius, Salust, and other like, emonge whome onely doe remaine the aunciente eloquence of the Latine tonge, and the vse of well speaking, not emonge the lettered Grammarians, who with their rules of Declensions, of Verbes & Cases, Compoundes, and Deponentes, doe muche abuse the Latine tonge, and oftentimes, inuent suche wordes, which are not lawefull for a Latinist to vse, excepte perchaunce a Sorbonist of Paris, reckon it in the number of the Artistes. If any saie, that credence is not to be geuen vnto the Grammarians, as touchinge the veritie of the Latine tonge, and notwithstandinge these lettered Grammarians, make themselves the onely correctours, iudges, and interpretours of all wꝛiters, and presume to set all Bookes in order, or to put them out of rule. There hath ben no Authoure, of so excellent a witte at any time, the whiche hath escaped the sclaunderous tongues of these men: whome haue they not reprobued: or in whom haue they not blamed many thinges: In Plato, they reprobue a confusion, and doe wante an order, of whose faulces Georgius Trapezuntius, hath wꝛitten Bookes, who, as Crinitus saith, was therfore called of others, Conotitimon

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*A filhe cal-
led a Curo
tell.*

and Etynim. They seeke in Aristotle an easines, they re-
proue his darkenes, and call him Sepia. They reprehend
Virgill, as one of little witte, and accuse him as a robber,
and vsurper of other mens doinges; Demosthenes did
not contente Tullie, and that greate Rhetorician of the
Latines, is by the Greekes, called into Iudgemente, to
restoze that, whiche he had wrongfully taken awaie, and
he is accused for many faultes, as fearefull, superfluous
in his Repetitions, colde in his merie talke, slacke in his
beginninges, idle in his digressions, seldome times in-
flamed, slowly behemente, yea, and he is blamed of our
men too, of Marcus Capella, as he that hath spoken in a
troubled measure: Apollinaris calleth him feeble, and
slouthfull. Trogus saithe, that Linies Orations are fain-
ned: and Plautus contenteth not Horace, who blameth
Lucilius for his vnordered Verses. Plinie is saide, that
in manner of a troubled Riuer, he heapeth together ma-
ny thinges, without settinge any in order. Ouide is re-
ported, to haue ouermuch followed his owne nature. Sa-
lust is reprehended of Asinius Pollio, for a curiose coun-
terfaitour. Terence is noted to haue stole, & recited other
mens doinges, & to haue ben holpen of Labeo, and Scipio.
Seneca was called Lime without Sande, whom Quinti-
lian reproveth with these wordes: If he had dispised
none of his equales, if partely he had not desired them, if
he had not loued all his owne doinges, if he had not bro-
ken of the weightnesse of woordes with cutted sentences,
Seneca should rather be allowed by the iudgement of lear-
ned men, then by the loue of children. Marcus Varro
also, was called a Pigge: and Ambrose was termed a
Dawg, and a teller of fables. Macrobius, a very well
learned man, was reprovcd of a shamelesse & vnthankful
witte: Laurence Valla, the beste learned of al the Gram-
marians, did not spare any of them, that had writen in
Latine: and Mancinellus afterwarde inueyed againste
him. There was in times paste, amonge the Gramma-
rians,

rians, one Seruius, who deserued well of the Latine
tonge, and Beroaldus resisted againste him: finally, the
later Grammarians haue afterwarde reproued him as
barbarous: So all the Grammarians are accustomed to
strive one againste an other: Finally by the meanes of
them it is brought to passe, that the translatiō of the Ho-
ly Scripture, so many times chaunged, vnder the pretence
of correction, dothe now altogether disagree from it self.
Thow we the censure of these men, so longe time men
haue doubted of the Apocalypse, of Saincte Iohn the Apo-
stle, of the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Hebrewes, of
the Epistle of Iude, and of many other Chapters of the
Newe Testamente: and which is moze, they haue gone
about to reduce the Gospel it selfe to questions, but let
vs passe to the Poetes.

Of Poetrie. Cap. 4.

Poetrie, as Quintilian writeth, is an other parte of
Grammar, not a little proude in this thinge onlie,
that in times paste, the Theaters, & Amphitheaters,
the goodliest buildinges of men, were erected not by Phi-
losophers, not by Lawiers, not by Physitians, not by
Rhetoricians, not by Mathematiciens, not by Diuines,
but with exceeding great expenses, by the fables of Po-
etes, an Arte, that was deuised to no other ende, but to
please the eares of foolish men, with wanton Rithmes,
with measures, and weightinesse of sillables, and with
a vaine iarringe of wordes, and to deceiue mens mindes
with the delectation of fables, and with fardels of lies.
Wherefore, thee dothe deserue to be called the principall
Authoure of lies, and the maintainer of peruerse opini-
ons: and as touchinge that whiche doth appertaine to fu-
rie, and drunkennesse, and to impudencie, & boldenesse,
wee pardon it, what is he that is able to endure with a
quiet minde, that vnsempful boldenesse of lsainge: for
what

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what place wil shee leaue boide of peuishe trifles, and fables? Shee beginninge her fables with Chaos, doth recke the diuisions of the Heauens, the birthe of Venus, the fighte of the Titanes, the childhooe of Iupiter, the deceits of Rhea, and the supposition of the stone, the imprisonment of Saturnus, the rebellion of the Giauntes, the thefte and punishment of Prometheus, the errours of Delus, the labours of Latona, the death of Pitho, the wiles of Tyrus, the deluge of Deucalion, the birth of Men out of Stones, the dilaniation of Bacchus, the deceipte of Iuno, the burninge of Semeles, the two kinredes of Bacchus, and what thinges soeuer are declared in the Graeke fables of Minnerua, Vulcane, Erichthonie, Borea, Orithia, Theseus, Egeus, Castor, Pollux, of the rape of Helena, and of the deathe of Hippolitus. Furthermoze the wandzinge of Ceres, Proserpina taken awaie by force, and founde againe, and what thinges soeuer are founde witten of Minos, of Cadmus, of Niobes, of Pentheus, Attæus, Edipus, of the labours of Hercules, of the fighte of Sol and Neptunus, of the madnesse of Athamanthes, of Io transformed into a Cowe, and of Argus, her keaper, slaine by Mercurius, of the Golden fleefe, of Peleus, Iason, Medea, of the deathe of Agamemnon, of the punishmente of Clitemnestra, of Danaes, Perseus, Gorgon, Cassiopea, Andromeda, Orpheus, Orestes, of the wandzinges of Eneas, and Vlisses, of Circes, Thelagonius and Eolus, Palamedes, Nauplius, Ajax, Daphnes, Ariadna, Europa, Phedra, Pasiphaes, Dedalus, Icarus, Glaucus, Atlas, Gerion, Tantalus: of Pan: of the Cētaures, of the Satires: of the Sirenes: and of other suche notable lies. In the meane season not content with earthlie thinges, finallie shee placeth the Goddes emonge her fables, and with venemous eloquence of wordes, and with pestiferous pleasauntnesse of verse, witting of their natiuities, their deathes, their contentions, their brawlinges, their hatred, their anger, their fighte, their woundes, their lamentations, their imprisonment, their

loues,

loues, their bawdie practises, their luxuriousnesse, their fornications, their aduouterie, their accompanying with men and beastes, & worse then these, if any maie be moze shamefull and dishonnest, dothe not onlie deceiue & infecte them which then liued, but dothe mozeouer make the posteritie parttaker of these furious venims, preserved in goodlie verses, & meters, & who so euer the shall once infecte with her doctrine & lies, she constraineth to rage with the like woodnesse, as it were with the biting of a madde dogge. For her lies are fained with so greate skill, that oftentimes they hinder true histories, even as the mater is manifest, by the fained adulterie of Dido with Eneas, and Troye taken by the Gretians. There are yet some, whiche haue come to so greate furie of maddenesse, that they beleue that they haue in them certaine diuine Oracles, because in times passe Sprites gaue answere in Poetical verses, for that cause they call them Prophetes and Poetes, inspired with the diuine Spirite, and do vse the triflinge verses of Poetes & Oracles to diuine. For that cause the Aunciētes surnamed Homer his Oracles, of the verses of Homer, as of Virgil his verses, the Oracles of Virgil, of whiche Spartian maketh mention in the life of Adrian. The whiche superstition at this daie is transferred to the Holy Scriptures, and to the verses of the Psalmes, not without the consente and agrēmente of many greate Doctours. But let vs retorne to Poetrie: Augustine willet that it shoulde be banished out of the Citie of God: Plato the Pagane driueth it out of his Common Weale. Cicero forbiddeth it to be admitted. Socrates admonisheth, that if any man be very careful of his Honoure, and desireth to saue it harmelesse, let him forseeke he haue no Poete his enemy, because they haue not so greate force in praisinge as in dispraisinge, & ill speakinge. The moste rightuous Kinge Minos, renowned of Hesiodus and Homer, incensed the tragical Poetes againste him, whiche bannished him to Hell, because

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cause he made warre against the Athenians. Licophon writeth, that Penelope, made famous by Homer for her singular chastitie, did bedde with certaine of her louers. The Poete Ennius settinge out the daedes of Scipio, was the first that fained Dido, the first buildresse of Carthage, a verie chaste widowe, to haue ben enamoured of Eneas: the whiche yet according to the reckening of times, could neuer haue scene him: whiche lie, Virgil did afterwarde so beautifie, that it was beleued for a true historie. In the ende this libertie of lying, and lewdnesse of ill speakinge, came to this passe, that it was necessarie for the Censours to make a Lawe, whereby suche reproche and lies of Poetes might be repressed. But emonge y^e aunciente Romaines also, Poetrie was publikelie had in dishonoure: and in suche sorte, that as Gelius and Cato witnesseth, he that studied therein, was called a common murderer, and moreover Quintus Fuluius was therefore reproued of Marcus Cato, because he beinge sent Proconsul into Etolia, tooke with him the Poete Ennius. And y^e Emperoure Iustinian iudged not the professors thereof worthe to haue anie franchises. The Athenians moreover, condemned Homer in fittie grotes, as a madde man, who is called the Philosopher of all Poetes, and the Poete of all Philosophers: and they laughed to skorne the Poete Tichteus as a man of a weake witte: and moreover the Lacedemonians commaunded the booke of Archilochus the Poete to be caried out of their Citie. In this manner, all vertuouse men haue dispised Poetrie, as the mother of lies, seeinge that the Poetes doe lie so monstrously: as them that haue spent their studie not to speake, nor write any good thinge: but with bodged verses to delite the eares of foles, and to make a clattering noise with the craftie coueringe of fables, and disceitfullie to deuise all thinges vpon a matter of nothinge, as Campanus wrote in a certaine place.

The peuishe Poetes pine awaie,
If that their triflinge toies decaie,

For

For Verses are vnto them foode,
Lies are to these both golde and good,
And what they liste, they speake and faine
They thinke it to their praise a staine
If on true tales they beate their braine.

There are moreover most grievous contentions among Poetes, not onlie for the Carracter of the verse, for the fæte, for the accent, and quantities of sillables, for at the common sorte of Grammarians doe contend for these thinges, but also for these their trifles, fainings, and lies, that is, for the knot of Hercules, for the Chaste tree, for the letters of Hiacinthus, for the children of Niobes, for the trees, vnder which Latona brought forth the Diana. In like manner for the Countrey of Homer, and for his Sepulture, and whether Homer and Hesiodus were firste, whether Patroclus were before Achilles, in what state of bodie Anacharsis Scitha did sleepe: whye Homer did not giue honour to Palamedes in his verses: whether Lucanus is to be reckened in the number of Poetes, or Historiographers: of the rubricke of Virgil, and in what moneth of the yere he died.

And who did firste inuente the doleful songes
The lettered sorte incessantly contend,
And yet the matter dooth on iudge depende.

All the verses of Poetes are full of fables, written to no other ende, but to the delite of soles, vnder colour of flatterie, or reproofe of the vilest Vices. What thinges soeuer Poetes declare, praise, inuocate, and flatter with their fables. They doe againe reprove, bite, accuse and raile with their fables, and are alwaies madde. Wherfore Democritus termeth this, no Arte, but a madnesse. And the opinion of Plato is, that he, that is wel in his wittes, knocketh in vaine at the doore of Poetrie. When Poetes write marueilous thinges, when they are mad or droncke. For this cause Augustine calleth Poetrie, the Wine of errour, ministred by drunken
C Doctors.

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Doctours. Hiero nameth it the meate of Diuels. Moreover it is a verie slender, and bare Arte whiche of it selfe is altogether a foolish thinge, excepte it be attired and sauoured with some other Discipline. An Arte that is alwaies hungrie, and eatinge vp other mens breade like mife: and yet I wote not what immortall glorie of name, it presumeth to promise emonge trifles, and fables, with the Grasshoppers of Tithones, with the Frogges of the Licians, and with the pismers of Mirmidones, and saue,

Leade ye a happie life, & if my verse maie ought auaille
No time with vile obliuion shal euer you assaile.

Whiche fame in dede is either none or nothinge auailinge. But the Historians teache, that this is their office, and not of Poetes.

Of Histories. Cap. 5.

The definition of an Historie.

A Historie is a declaration of thinges done with praise, or dispraise, whiche, as it were in a certaine liuely picture, doth set before our eyes y^e Couisailes, Deedes, & Endes of great thinges, y^e Enterprises of Princes, and Noble menne, with the order, and discription of times, and places: and therefore all menne, for the moste parte, calle it the Mistresse of life, and verie profitable to the framinge thereof, because that with the examples of manye thinges, she dothe partely enflame moste excellent menne, for the immortal glorie of praise and renowne, to all worthye enterprises, partely, because for feare of perpetual infamie, she letteth all wicked and naughty men from misdoinge: albeit this thinge oftentimes hath chaunced otherwise: and many, (as Liue writeth, of Manlius Capitolinus) had lesse haue a great, then a good fame: and many menne, because by their vertue, they cannot be knownen, they will for their mischeuous deedes be remembred and written in Histories, euen as Iustine recordeth of Trogus, of Pausanias the Macedonian

Macedonian famous for the murder of King Phillippe, and as Gellius, Valerius, and Solinus made relation of Herostratus, who burned the Temple of Diana at Ephesus the goodliest worke that in two hundred yeeres before was builde in all Asia. And although it was provided with most extreme Lawes, that now we should name this man in worde or writinge, notwithstandinge, he obtained the ende, for the whiche he had committed so greatesse offence: the same and name of him beinge broughte thoroowe so manie hundred yeeres, unto oure age: but lette vs retourne to an Historie. This Arte, albeit it dothe chiefly require an Order, Agrément, and Truthe of all thinges: notwithstanding, it persourmeth it leaste of all. Historiographers do so mutche disagree amonge them selues, and do write so variabe and diuers thinges of one matter, that it is impossible, but that a number of them shoulde be verie Liers, I speake not onlie of the beginninge of the Worlde, of the Uniuersall Floude, of the buildinge of Rome: of the whiche beginnings they professe the selues to write of thinges which were donne, for so muche as the first of these, all men be ignorant of, the other all men wil not beleue, the thirde is vncertaine amonge them. Wherefore sithe these thinges be very farre of, neither allowed of all men with an vpight consideratiō, let vs forgiue the their errours. But as touching these latter times, the faulte of lyinge muste needes be imputed to them: and so great occasions thereof are the multitude of discordances. For the moste parte of menne, because they were not presente in the times, in the places, with the personnes, and at the dooings of the thinges recited, gatheringe in one the communication of the people, by relation of an other, do write no certaine & stable thing: of which vice Erastus, Metrodorus, Septius, Possidonius, & Patrocles Historiographers, are reproued of Strabo. There be some other, which whē they haue seene parte of thinges, as by passing

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*Historiographers
entermedle
lies
with the
truth, for
delections
sake.*

*Here are
reckned the
errors of
diuers Hi-
storians.*

in an armie, or begginge vnder pretence of praier, or pilgrimage from one Hospitall to an other, traueling the thoroowe countries do rashly presume to write an Historie: suche a one as Onosicritus, and Aristobolus, in time past haue writtten of India. There be of these, which for delectation and pleasure, do enterlase lies with true matters, oftentimes also omittinge the truth: for which vice Diodorus Siculus, dothe reprove Herodotus: and Librianus, and Vopiscus, Trebellius, and Tertullianus, and Orosius, & Tacitus: in whiche number we will also place Danudes, and Philostratus. There are also some, which turne true thinges to fables, as Gnidius, Cresias, Hecataeus, and many other aunciente Historians: There are many, that impudently & shamefully auant themselves to professe Historiographie: that they may not seeme to be ignorant in any thinge, or to haue taken oute of others some other thinge, whilst with a nouitie or straungnesse full of trifles, they haue presumed to write of vnknown countries, & vnable to be gone vnto, haue spoken of nothinge but trimme trifles, and monstrous lies. Euen as the fables be, that are reade of the Arimaspi, of the Gripes, of the Pigmai, and the Cranes, and of the Cinocephali, and Astromori: of the Hippodes, of the Phannisi, and of the Troglityti, to whose errorre they are next that affirme the frozen Sea to be vnder the Articke, and yet they finde swlish men, and withoute iudgemente, that beleue them in suche thinges, and accompte them for Oracles: amonge whiche Ephorus may be numbred, who saide that there was one onely Citie in Iberia, knowinge that they do inhabite so greate a parte of Spaine. And Stephanos the Greeke, whiche saide, that the people called Franci, were Italians, and that Vienna was a Cittie of Galilea, for Galatia. And Arriauns the Greeke, which affirmed that the standinge of Germanie, was not farre from the Ionike Sea, to whome agreeth Dionisius also in the thinges whiche are falsely written by

by him touching the hills Pirinei. Furthermore the things, that Cornelius Tacitus, Marcellus, Orosius and Blondus, doe speake of the places of Germanie, for the moste parte they are farre from the truthe. Likewise Strabo falsely writeth that the Riuer Ister, that is, Danubius, springeth not farre from the Sea Adriatique: and Herodotus saith, that he flieth from Hesperus, & springeth neare to the people Celti, the whiche are the fardest people of Europe, and entreth into Scithia. And againe, Strabo saith, that the Riuers Lapus, and Visurgus, doe runne into the Riuer Hanausus, whereas Lapus is mingled with the Rhene, and Visurgus, is discharged in the Oceane Sea: So Plinie also teacheth that the riuer Mosarenneth into the Ocean Sea: whereas he plungeth himselfe, not in the Ocean but in the Rhene. With the like errours emong the latter Historians, and Geographers, Sabellicus falsly would haue the people called Alani, to take their beginninge of the Almans, and the Hungarians, of the people Huni, moreouer he termeth the Gothes, and the Getes Scithians, and confoundeth the Danes, with the people Daci, and placeth the hill of Saincte Ottilia, in Bauaria, whereas it is not farre from the Cittie Argentine. Volaterranus also confoundeth Austerania, and Austria, the Auarians and Bauarians: Lucerna also, and Nansium, and saith, that Plinie hath made mention of the Barnensian Swisers, whereas they longe time after tooke theire beginning of Bartholdus Duke of the Zaringians: Semblablely, Conrades Celtes supposeth the people Daci, to be one with the Cimbrians, that is the Fleminges, and the Cherusci, to be them which we call Cerusci, and moreouer he saith that the Mountaines Ryphei, are in Sarmatia, at this daie Poland, and writeth that the gumme called Amber, groweth out of a tree. There are moreouer other emonge the Historians, guiltie of greater lies, who when they were presente at the things, or knew them otherwise then they are, or were

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done, notwithstanding overcome with beneuolence and affection, flatteringe their owne doings, do preferre falshood before the truthe. Amonge these are some, whiche takinge in hande to write Histories, to accuse or defende other mens causes, writinge suche thinges only, whiche make for their purpose, dissemblinge, ouerpassinge, or diminishinge the residue: do write corrupte and vnerfecte Histories, for whiche vice Blondus dothe reprove Orosius, because he hath kepte silente that great
The Gothes ruine of Italie, wherein the Gothes ransacked Rauenna,
well neare Candanum, Aquileia, Ferraria, and in a manner al Italie,
spoiled the that he might not debase his enterprised mattier. Where
whole Countie are moreover many, whiche corrupted thoroowe feare,
trie of rancoure, or with hatred of some, do write vntruthes:
saie. Others, whilest they desire to extol their owne doings, do diminish the other mens prowesse, and write that which is not, but that which they couet, that which they wishe, and that whiche pleaseth them, stedfastly trustinge that they will not faile to be companions and defendours of their lies, and be their witnesses, whome they haue notably flattered. Whiche vice in times past was comon
vwell neare amonge the Greeke writers: but at this daie well neare
all Histori- the Historians of all Nations haue the same vice: as Sa-
ans at this bellicus, and Blondus, in the affaires of the Venetians.
daie, are Paulus Emilius, and Ganguinus, in the exploits of the
flatterers. Frenche men, whiche Princes entertaine for no other commoditie, but that as Plutarch saithe, because they by the meanes of a good witte, choking vertue with other mens merites, accordinge to the maiestie of an Historie, with trifles and fainings may sette out their vices. After this sorte the Greeke Historiographers writinge of the inuentours of thinges, would attribute al thinges to themselves, but they were not theirs. Beholde an or
A corrupte ther moste corrupte kinde of flatterers, whiche whilest
and liynge they go aboute to enlarge and extende, the beginninge
kindes of of their Princes, to the moste Auncient Kings of the
 worlde,

woꝛlde, when they are not able to ioine them in kinred, ^{flatteringe} they haue recourse to Fables, and strange beginninges, ^{Historio-} and faine names of Kinges, and places, and there is no ^{graphers.} thinge, wherof they make not a lie. Of this sorte, is that barbarous Hunibaldus, who, writinge the Historie of the people Franci, hath deuised Scithia, Sicambria, the yonger Priamus, and other names of Places & Kinges, of whiche no auncient Historian euer made mention: and notwithstandinge, men of like witte, haue followed his trifles: as, Gregorius Turonensis, Rheginus, and Sigisbertus, with many other. Of this kinde is Vitelkindus also, who saith, that the Saxons, the Auncientest and firste inhabitours of Germanie, weare offspringe of the Macedonians, and dothe deriue them from the remnant of Alexander the Greate, whiche hathe in this erreure many other companions. There be mozeouer many, whiche write Histories, not so muche to tell the Truthe, as to delite that thei maie expresse, and depainte, the Image of a noble Prince, in whom they please. Whiche if any shal reprove for lyeinge, they saie, that they haue not so greate a regarde, to thinges done, as to the profite of the posteritie, and to the fame of witte, and therefore they haue not declared all thinges, as they haue benne donne, but how they ought to be declared, and that obstinately, they will not defende the truthe, but where the commo vtilitee dothe require, either a faininge or vntruthe, citinge Fabius for witnesse, who saithe, that suche a lie is not to be dispised, whiche auaileth to the perswasion of honestie. Furthermoze, scinge that they write to the posteritie, it maketh no greate matter, with what name, or what order the example of a good Prince shoulde be published abroad: Such an example hath Xenophon sette out of Cyrus, not as it was, but as it ought to be, as a resemblance and paterne, of a singular good Prince, writinge a proper and trimme Historie, but without truthe. Hereof at length it is come to passe, that many apte to lyeinge

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lyinge by nature and industrie, haue written fained Histories: as are the follies of Morgan, Margalon, Melusin, Amadis, Florando, Tirante, Couamor, Arthur, Dietrich, Lancelot, Tristan, I meane those fained and foolish dotages of Poetes, more fained and fabulouse, then Comedies or Fables: emonge the learned sorte Apuleius, and Lucianus, are chiefe in these things: moreouer as Cicero saith, in Herodotus, the father of Histories, in Diodorus, and Theopompus, are infinite fables, & stuffed full of lies: for we reade in them that the riuers were drunke by the Medes, and that men might sayle ouer the hill Athos.

And what fouer lyinge Greece,
Doth dare to write in Histories.

And these be the causes, why in no parte any credite may be thoroughly geue to Histories: although we chiefly seeke this in it, it is a very harde matter to attaine to Iudgement, which should be needefull in discerning the truthe, for so muche as they wrote not publikely of things that happened, whiche declared the truthe of things, & stopped the mouthes of Liers, but euerie one was suffered to vse his owne opinion. Hereof they haue gotten Authority to erre, and lie: whereupon emonge the Historiographers there is risen so greate a discorde, that, as Iosephus saith against Appio, they reprove one another with their Bookes, and write verie diuersly of one selfe thinge. In howe many places, (saith he) is Hellanicus repugnant to Agesilaus as touching Genealogie or Pedegree, and in how many things dothe Agesilaus correcte Herodotus, and howe Ephorus in verie many matters sheweth that Hellanicus is a lier: Timeus reprovet Ephorus, they whiche were after Timeus reproved him, and all men in generall reprove Herodotus. But Timeus hath vouchsafed to agree with Antiochus, Philisto, and Gallia in euerie thinge: in many things moreouer is Thucidides accused as deceitful, although he seeme

seeme to haue written a verie scrupulouse Historie. This writeth Iosephus of others, and one Egisippus correcteth him. Besides this many of the Historiographers write many thinges, but all not to be allowed, and there are some, whiche allowe thinges, not to be allowed, many doe determine to followe very naughtie examples. For they whiche with wonderfull praises doe depainte Hercules, Achilles, Hector, Theseus, Epaminondas, Lizander, Themistocles, Xerxes, Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, Pirrhus, Hannibal, Scipio, Pompei, Caesar, what other haue they described but greate and furiose theues, & famous spoilers of the worlde: I confesse that they were very good Capitanes, doubtles very wicked and naughtie men. But if a man saie to me that by the reading of Histories a singular wisdomme maye be gotten, I denie it not, so that he also graunte me this, that out of the same is receaued in like manner greate damage: and as Martial saith, There are many thinges good, many indifferent, and many naught.

Of Rhetorike. Cap. 6.

There is a controuersie amonge men, whether Rhetorike, whiche is nexte to these, be an Arte, or not, and the matter is yet before the Judge. For Socrates in Plato dothe proue with very stronge reasons, that it is neither Arte, neither Science, but a certaine subtiltie and sharpnesse of witte, and that it is neither commendable, nor honest, but rather a dishonest, and seruile flatterie. Lysias moreouer and Cleanthes, and Menedemus haue saide, that Eloquence can not be comprehended in any Arte, but that it proceedeth onely of nature, whiche teacheth euery man when he shoulde flatter, and tell his owne matters, and to strengthen it with argumentes: and that true pronuntiacion, memorie, and the finest manner of inuention did proceede of nothinge els

If but

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*but nature, the which was sene in Antonius the Prince
of the Romane Oratours. Besides this although before
Tisias, Corax and Gorgias, none did teache or write the
Arte of Rhetorike, there were notwithstandinge many
very wise and eloquente men. And furthermoze where
as the Arte is defined to be a collectiō of preceptes, which
tende to one ende: the Rhetoricians strive vnto this
howe what the ende thereof is, whether to persuade, or
to speake well, and not contente with the true causes do
deuise newe and fained. They haue besides this founde
out so many Theses, Hypotheses, figures, colours, gui-
dinges, carracters, persuations, controuersies, declama-
tions, prohemis, insinuations, gettings of good will, and
moste artificiall narrations, that vnneth they can be
numbred, and notwithstandinge they denie that there is
an ende of Rhetorike. This Arte the Lacedemonians did
utterly reiecte, whiche saide that honest mens communi-
cation ought not to procede of arte, but of the harte. The
auncient Romaines mozeouer did very late receiue Rhe-
toricians into the Cittie: and although after muche dis-
putation Cicero had gone aboute to shewe that Oratorie
did not so mutche procede of arte, as of wisdom, and
therefoze had writen the worke of a perfecte Oratoure,
notwithstandinge that Oratoure whiche he as an exam-
ple or paterne there frameth, is not allowed of all men,
and mozeouer he seemeth to be very mutche suspected of
Brutus a man of singular honestie, & alwaies the opinion
of Rhetoricians hath taken place, that the preceptes of
plcading do moze hurte, then profite the life of men: and
to speake the truthe, it is cleare that al the whole doctrine
of Rhetorike is nothinge els, but the arte of fauninge
flatterie, and as some moze boldly speake of lyinge, to
the ende that that whiche he cannot bringe to effect, with
the veritie of the matter, he may persuade with the pain-
ted glosse of talke: enen as Archidamus speaketh of Pe-
ricles the Sophiste, (as Eunapius witnesseth) who beinge
demaun-*

*vvise and
eloquent me
before Rhe
torike was
taught.*

*The saying
of the La-
cedemonians
concerning
mens talke.*

*Preceptes
of Eloquence
more hurt-
full, then
profitable.*

demaunded, whether he were stronger then him: he answered. Although Pericles be overcome by me in battle, notwithstandinge he hath so much eloquence, that when he reasoneth of these things, he appeareth not conquered but conquerour: and Plinie saith of Carneades, that when he argued, the truth could hardly be perceived: and of the same it is written, that when on a time he had spoken many things wisely and eloquently, before the people in the fauour of Justice, the nexte daie followinge with no lesse eloquence and learninge he inueighed againste Justice. There was in Siracusa Corax a Rhetorician, a man of a sharpe witte & a redier tongue, who taught this arte for rewarde. Unto him came Tisias, and hauinge no readie monie to paye him, he promised him double asone as he had taught him Rhetorike, whom Corax with that condition receaued and taughte. Tisias, when he had learned this Arte, goinge aboute to beguile his master of the monie, he asked Corax, what Rhetorike was, who when he had answered that it was the maistresse of persuations, he made an argument in this manner against his maister. Whatsoeuer then I shall tell thee touchinge the monie, if I shall perswade that I owe thee nothinge, I owe thee nothinge, because I haue perswaded that I owe nothinge: if I can not perswade thee, I wil not be indebted to thee, because thou hast not taught me to perswade: Then Corax seemed to wrestle this argumente againste Tisias. Whatsoeuer (saide he) I shall saye touchinge the monie, if I shall perswade that I oughte to haue it, I shall receaue it, because I haue perswaded thee: if I shall not perswade thee, I ought to receaue it, because I haue taught so greate a scholler, that overcame his maister. The Siracusans hearinge them contende with argumentes, whiche they were able to tourne to euery purpose, exclamed: Of a naughty crowe, a naughty egge: signifyinge that a naughty maister had made a worse Scholler. Gellius recompteth an Historie

The answer
sware of
Pericles
the sophist

A pretie
historie of
Tisias, who
overcoming
his master
Corax in
argumen-
tation de-
franded
him of his
monie.

This saying
of the Sy-
racusans
was euer
afterward
used for a
Proverbe e-
monge the
little Greekes.

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little differing from this of Pithagoras the Sophiste, and Euathlus his Scholer. Notwithstandinge to knowe how to speake perfectly, eloquently, grauely, and plentifully, is alwaies a goodly, delectable, and a profitable thinge, sometimes for al that dishonest, and vnconuenient, and very often dangerous, and alwaies suspected: Wherefore Socrates thinketh Rhetorians are worthy of no estimation, and that they should beare no rule in a wel framed common weale. And Plato thinketh good that they should be kept out of the Publike weale, togeather with the makers of Tragedies, stage plaiers, and Poetes, and not without a cause. For there is nothinge more dangerous to ciuill offices then this, from whiche corrupted accusers, haisters, sicophantes, and suche other names of a naughty tounge do descende: For oftentimes men indewed with this arte do moue conspiracie, and stirre sedition, whilest they with this artificial bablinge deceaue some, backbite other, iesse at other, flatter other, and vse a certaine tirannie againste innocentes. Therefore Euripides saide well, that to knowe how to speake many thinges was a certaine tirannouse thinge: and Eschilus saithe, that wel ordered communications, is the foulest mischicfe of al others. Raphael Volaterranus a man very studious in Histories & examples, confesseth, that when he had conferred togeather al the examples, which he had harde and reade of the auncientes, and of them of latter time, he founde very fewe good men eloquente. Haue there not bene great common wealthes greuously vexed by this onely, and oftentimes brought to vtter decaye? The Bruti, the Calsij, the Gracchi, Cato, Cicero, and Demosthenes, are examples hereof, whiche as they were accounted of all men the moste eloquent, so alwaies of all men they were moste seditious. For Cato Censorius, beinge accused fourtie times, did accuse other more then seuentie times, greatly troubling al his life time the tranquillitie of the common wealth with his pœuish declamations.

*Eloquence
the cause of
the decaye
of common
wealthes.*

tions. The other Cato Vticensis, by prouokinge Caesar, did altogeather subuerte the Romaine libertie. No lesse did Cicero incense Anthonie to the destruction of the publike wealthe, and Demosthenes, Philippe to the ruine of the Athenians: in fine there was no state of common wealthe, whiche hath not in times paste bene turned by side downe by this Arte, none hath escaped vnhurte with the vice of Eloquence, if he hath geuen eare thereto. In likewise confidence in Eloquence can doe much in iudgements, her patronage defendeth vniuste causes, and he that is guiltie is deliuered from the daunger of the lawe, & the accused innocent is oftentimes condemned by her: and there was neuer any so defended by this Arte, but that he whiche was on the contrary parte had the foile. Marcus Cato the wisest of the Romaines did forbid these thre Oratours of the Athenians, that is, Carneades, Critholaus, and Diogenes, to be receaued into the Cittie of Rome, and there openly to teache, because they had so sharpe wittes, suche pleasaint speache, and passing Eloquence, that they coulde easily perswade righteous, and vnrighteous causes. It is wel knownen that Demosthenes in times past did auaunte hereof among his friendes, that he coulde, when he listed, drawe the minde of the Iudges whether pleased him by the craftie conuepaunce of his communication, accordinge to whose fantasie the Athenians had oftentimes warre with Philippe, oftentimes peace. So great was his force of Eloquence to moue and mitigate the affections of the minde, that as it were hauinge rule ouer his Countreie men, he would drawe them whether he listed with wordes: for the like cause Cicero was at Rome called of many a Kinge, because that he drew the Senate whether he would with wordes, rulinge al thinges with his Eloquence. Hereby it appeareth that Rhetoricke is nothinge els, but an Arte of perswadinge and mouinge the affections, with subtile Eloquence, with exquisite colouringe of wordes, and with a

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*Demosthe-
nes called
this pho-
tion the ra-
sour that
did cut of
his wordes
because his
speech was
short, graue
vehement,
and full of
quicke sen-
tences.*

*A iolie
pratler.*

false likelihoode of the truth doth allure the mindes of the simple, and leadeth them into the prison of erroure, seeking to subuerte the sence of the truth. But if by the meanes of nature there is nothinge, whiche maye not be expressed with true wordes, what can be moze pestilent, then to studie for coloured wordes? The speache of the truth is simple, liuely, percinge, and a searcher of the inward intentions of the harte, and like a hatchet & two handed sword dothe seperate and cut a sunder al the Artificial argumentes of Oratours. For this cause Demosthenes without any doubt despised all other Rhetoricians, and feared Phocion alone who simply and briefly spake the truth, and suche thinges as appertained to the purpose. Peradventure the auncient Romaines knewe this, whiche (as Suetonius testifieth) with a publike edicte did twise driue the Rhetoricians out of y^e Citie of Rome, once when Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala were consuls: once againe, when Cneius Domitius Enobarbas, & Lucius Licinius Crassus were censours: the thirde time, when Domitianus was Emperoure by a generall decree of the Senate they were bannished from Rome, and out of Italie. The Athenians did forbidde them the place of iudgement as destroyers of Justice: and they caused Timagoras to be beheaded, because in doinge the duties of salutation, according to the custome of that nation he had flattered Kinge Darius. The Lacedemonians bannished Ctesiphon, because he auanted that he coulde talke a whole daie of any thinge. For there was nothinge moze odious emonge them, then this curious cunnings of theire tongue, whiche had no care to speake the truth: but takinge in hande a meane matter, did trimely attire it with exquisite elegancie of speache, and with loftinesse of wordes, and to deceaue the mindes of the hearers with pleasauntnesse of wordes, & with their tongue to leade them bonde by the eares. And now it is euidente that none are made better by this skill, but that
very

very many are made worse: which albeit they were able to speake cleaner of vertues, yet wee see them much better spoken, and of a more flowing Eloquence to defende errorres, to solve debates, to stirre up seditions, to taunte, to backbite, to accuse falslie, then to seeke peace, concord, and quietnesse: and to preache Charitie, Faith, and Religion. Furthermore very many cleauinge to this skill, haue swarued from the true faith: and Sectes, Schismes, Superstitions, and Heresies haue spronge up whilest that some in such sorte despise the holy Scripture because it wanteth Ciceros Eloquence, that other whiles with polished perswasions of Pagane argumentes they helde againste the Catholike truthe. Which is manifestly scene in the Tacian Heretikes, and in them, whiche Libanius the Sophist, and Symmachus the Oratoure defenders of Idolatrie, Celsus Africanus, and Iulianus Apostata haue seduced, rising up against Christ with most great colours of Rhetorike: out of whose damnable and blasphemous Eloquence, the Heretikes haue taken many argumentes of perswasions, whiche they putting into simple mens eares, haue ledde them from the worde of Truthe. But what stande we aboute the examles of aunciente Heretikes: let vs behold our times. Who be the ringe leaders of the Germane Heresies, whiche takinge beginning of Luther alone are at this daie so much encreased, that wel neare euery Citie hath his peculiere Heresie: are not the authours of them moste eloquent men, armed with Eloquence of the tonge, and with the elegancie of stile: and whom a fewe yeares past we haue scene to be so muche praised for the perfecte knowledge of the tongues, for the finenesse of speache, & for the promptnes of speakinge and writinge, that nothinge coulde be added to their praises, at this daie we see the heades and capitaines of Heretikes: so there be many vntill this daie, whiche geuen to Eloquence, whilest that they are desirous to be Ciceronians, are made Pagans, and they
whiche

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„ whiche ouer diligently studie Aristotle and Plato, they
 „ become superstitious, & these wicked. And al they whiche
 „ contrary to the simple wordes of the truthe doe poze idle
 „ talke into mens eares, they shal stande in iudgemente,
 „ and render an accompte of suche thinges as they haue
 „ vaineely faigned and deuised againste God.

Of Logike. Cap. 7.

Logike is ioyned to these for a succour, and verely
 it is nothinge els, but a skilfulnes of contention and
 darkenesse, by the whiche al other sciences are made
 more obscure, and harder to learne, and the more ouer
 termeth her selfe Logike, that is, the science of speakinge
 and reasoninge. Miserable doubtlesse and vnreasonable
 should mankinde be, if without this learninge it shoulde
 not know how to reason: not withstandinge Seruius Sul-
 pitius saide, that this was the greatest of all Artes, and
 as it were a lighte vnto suche thinges as are taught to
 others, whereas the (as Cicero saithe) dothe teache howe
 to deuide all the whole matter into partes, and by defi-
 ninge to declare that whiche is hidde, by interpretinge
 to make plaine that whiche is obscure, to skan and distin-
 guishe that whiche is doubtfull: & the dothe geue rules
 to iudge true thinges and false. Moreover the Logitio-
 ners promise (as they saie) that they are able to finde out
 the essentiall definition of euery thinge: not withstanding
 they can neuer make it plaine with any wordes, but that
 the minde is as ignoraunt as it was befoze. But if any
 saie to an vnlearned man, a mortall liuing creature rea-
 sonable, for a man, he will lesse vnderstande it, then if he
 had saide simply a man. Boetius amonge the Latines
 hath writen muche of this, whose workes are not extant,
 but that whiche Aristotle hath writen dothe surpasse all
 the other, that is, the Predicamentes, the Elenches, the
 places of argumentation called Topica, the booke of in-
 terpreta,

*Logike the
 science of
 reasoninge.*

*The office
 of Logike.*

terpretation, called Peri hermenias, the Booke of resolution called Analytica, & others: whom the Peripatetickes followinge, doe suppose that nothinge can stande, or be vnderstande excepte it be proued with perfecte argument by demonstration, to wæte, that whiche Aristotle setteth out, but yet he neuer obserued it in his determinate opinions, for so muche as he hath taken all his argumentes of presupposed matters, whome all these professors of Sciences followinge haue not hitherto geuen any, or very fewe true demonstrations in other matters, nor yet in natural thinges, but all deriue them from preceptes, or from their Aristotle, or from some other, that spoke them before him, whose authoritie thei kepe to them selues, for principles of demonstration, Aristotle teacheth that the true demonstration, which ought to make knowledge, is that, whiche is made (as the Logitioners speake) by Quid-dites, and by the proper difference of thinges hidden, and vnknownen to vs. He saith moreover that demonstration is made of causes, of these whiche are as, of, by, it selfe, and after as the thinge is: whiche prepositions albeit they are conuertible addinge them selues togeather, notwithstandinge he saith that there is no circular demonstration geuen, nor graunted of the causes. If therefore the principles of demonstration be very ill vnderstande, and the circumstance shal not be admitted, certes hereof can be had none but very slender and vncertaine knowledge: For we must beleue thinges shewed, by certaine weake principles: to the whiche we agree either for the forepassed authoritie of the wise, as it were to knowne limetes, or els with experience we allowe them by the senses. For every knowledge (as they saie) hath his beginning of the senses, and the proufe of true speeches (as Auerrois saith) is that they agree with sensible thinges. And that thing is better knowne and truer, whereupon moste mindes and senses doe agree: thowse the knowledge then of sensible thinges we are ledde by the hande

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to al suche thinges, that maie be knowen by vs. But sithe that oftentimes all the senses are deceaued, doubtlesse they cannot proue to vs any certaine experience. Furthermore sithe that the senses cannot attaine to the intellectuall nature, and the causes of the inferiour things, of whiche theire natures, effects, and properties or rather passions should be declared, by the consent of al men be altogether vnknowen to our senses, is it not manifest that the waie of the truth is shutte vp fro the senses? Wherefoze al these derivations and sciences, whiche are faste rooted in the senses shalbe vncertaine, erroneous, & deceiptful: What then is the profite of Logike, and what fruite cometh of that learned demonstration, by principles & proues, to the whiche we shal of necessitie assente as it were to knowen limites: Shall not now the principles theselues, & proues rather be knowen then shewed: but I wil now repeate this Arte more at large. The Logitioners doe reckon ten predicamentes, which they terme most generall woordes, these be they, Substaunce, quantitie, qualitie, relation, when, where, settinge, apparalinge, action, & passion, in the which they thinke that all thinges are contained, and vnderstande whatsoeuer is comprehended in all the vniuersall rounde worlde. Moreover they teache what they be that are before spoken of these and their partes, whiche be fise in number: that is, the Generall woorde, the Speciall, the Difference, the Propertie, and the Accidente, whiche for this cause be called Predicables. Furthermore they haue founde out foure causes of euery thing, Material, Formal, Efficient, & Final, by the which they suppose that they can finde out the truthe, and fals-hood of al things, by a certaine infallible Demonstration (as they thinke,) that is, with a Syllogisme, that is, a perfecte argumente, whiche ought to be in one of the. xii. Moodes of figures (as they terme it) with one of the thre Moodes. They make euery Syllogisme or Demonstration with thre limites, whiche be, the Subiect of the thinge sought

sought, & is called the Lesse, the other is the Predication of the thing sought, and is called the Larger, the thirde is the Meane, whiche taketh parte of bothe: and accordinge to these thei frame two Propositions, whiche they terme Premised, the Larger and the Lesse, of these finally ariseth the conclusion, that is, passinge from one extreame to an other, as it were from the entraunce to the bowndes. This is all that marueilous cunninge, these be al the extreame bozders thereof, by the whiche they suppose to ioygne, deuide, and conclude al thinges by certaine conclusions, whiche they thinke impossible to be disproued, and these are the highe and marucilous misteries of Logike, founde out with greate laboure by deceitfull Masters, whiche as it were certaine hidden & secreete thinges all maie not professe nor learne, but suche as can geue great rewardes for the hauing of them, and haue bought this authoritie emonge Scholers with greate expenses. Finally these are their dogges, these are their nettes, by the whiche (as they thinke) they trace out the truthe of all thinges either subiecte to nature as naturall thinges, or accompanyinge nature as the Mathematicalles, or that in a certaine sorte surpasse nature it selfe, as are the supernaturall thinges: whiche truthe notwithstandinge thozowe that cunninge, accordinge to the Proverbe of P. Clodius, and Varro, they losse with to muche disputation. And these onely are the limites of the auncient Logitioners.

Of Sophistrie. Cap. 8.

BUt many more monsters, and greater miracles then these, hath the latter Schole of the Sophistes added therto, of the passion of the Limites, of the Infinite, of the Cōparatiues, of Superlatiues, of the Difference of one, of the Beginninge, and of the Ende, of Formalities, of Seci-
 cietes, of Instaunces, of Ampliations, of Restrictions, of
 G ij Distri-

*These Ter-
mes seeme
obscure to
the multi-*

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tude and
cannot be
more pro-
perly ex-
pressed in
our Native
tōge for the
insufficiēcy
thereof, and
although
they are vn-
acquainted
to English-
men: Yet as
Tully saith,
Verba sunt
nobis vlu-
molli. nda,
straunge
wordes are
to be made
easie by vse,
and when
woordes
wante, wee
must inuent
them.

Distributions, of Intentions, of Suppositions, of Appella-
tions, of Obligations, of Consequences, of Indissolubles,
of Exponibles, of Reduplicatiues, of Exclusiues, of Instan-
ces, of Cases, of Particularisations, of Suppositives, of Me-
diations, and Inmediations, of Completes, & Incompletes,
and other intollerable, & vaine wordes which are written
in the little Logicals, with the whiche all thinges whiche
in very deede are false, and impossible, they will easily
proue to be true: and contrariwise what thinges so euer
are true, as breakinge out of the Troiane horse, they wil
sodenly spoile with fire blastes & thundring of wordes
by the meanes of these engins. There are againe other,
whiche allowe but three Predicamentes, and two Figures
of Syllogismes, & of these doe onely approue eight Moodes
and laughe at Moodall propositions, and at the Concrete
and Abstract termes: and there be founde some whiche
adde the eleuenth Predicament, and the fourth Figure of
Syllogismes, and doe augmente the number of the Predi-
cables and Causes, and haue brought in so many inuinci-
ble and Scotical subtilities, that the sharpe and shrewde
sayinges of Cleanthes, and Crisippus, with the deceites &
wiles of Daphitas, of Eutidemus, and Dionisiodorus, shall
be altogether blockishe and rusticall, if they be compared
with the newe inuentions of our Sophisters, in the which
vniuersally at this daie well neare all the companie of
Scholers, beinge occupied in a miserable and damnable
studie, seeme to doe nothinge more then to learne to erre,
and with vnceasing contention, either to make the truth
more obscure, or vtterly to lose it: al whose learninge is
nothinge els but a certaine captiousnesse, whiche thoro-
w a corrupte speakinge of wordes with a certaine subtile
cauillation subuerteth the vse of speakinge, and offereth
violence to the tonge, which shee vnderstandeth not, tur-
ninge the truthe vpside downe after a likely exposition,
whose glozie is placed in nothinge els but tauntes
and crakinges, as they that doe not desire so muche to
ouer-

ouercome, as to fighte, and theire intente is not to finde out the truthe, but to brawle, in so muche that he is accounted the chiefest amonge them: that crieth lowdest, that is moste shamelesse, and prateth apace. Of whiche Petrarcha saith, that this procedeth from the vnshamefulnes of writinge, or from the confession of ignorance, they cannot refraine their tonge, they contende not with the penne, thei wil not haue sene, how weake the things are, wherewith they set out themselues, and therfore accordinge to the vse of the Parthians they fighte flyinge apace, & utteringe windie wordes, do as it were spreade saile. These be they which Quintilian termeth very craftie in disputations: but when they goe from that cauallation, they are nomore sufficient in any weighty matter, then certaine small wormes or beastes, whiche able to stirre in straight places, are taken abroade in the fielde: and therfore they feare to come into the open fielde: and this is true, that priue places, and narrowe corners be healpes to weakenesse, because thei which cannot runne, maie turne and winde whether they list. In like manner do the Sophisters feare to fighte vnder notaries with Bookes, and Authours in theire hande: but they will contende with the onely force of memorie, and with the flittinge cries of the tongue, not to the ende thei maie be put in writinge as thinges good, and auailable, but that they maie passe in at one eare, and out at the other: and do thinke, that it maketh no matter, what reason every one vseth, so that he geue an instance, and some reason to the contrary, and that it is not to be regarded what so euer he speaketh, or thinketh, so that he speake & brawle apace: for the more wordes a man vseth, the better learned he is iudged amonge them. They with these illusions, and deceites goe aboute to Scholes, to streates, to tables, to seeke suche as are of theire profession, whiche they bidde, praise, and procure to dispute, and if they encounter and bzege one an other, they go to priue places,

The Parthians manner of fighte.

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and seeke out coznerns, and repaire eftsoones to their vsual matters, makinge so many turninges, as if they shoulde go aboute a Laberinth: And if any be lothe & vnwillinge to contende with them, they assaile him with some subtil question, whiche a very well learned man hath not founde out, that in suche sorte they maie either conuince him in an erreure, that answereeth vnproviden, or if he saie that he is not able to answere to theire demaunde, they put him to shame, and hisse at him, and so they on bothe partes appeare to be learned. But let vs see, what fruite Logike with her Sophisters hath brought forth, and bringeth forth in the Church of Christe, which disagreeinge from Gods worde, doe confounde it with deuised reasons, and deriued from the craftie conceites of the minde, to the which, while they ouermuche beleue, when the light of the Truthe is gone, darkenesse dothe arise wherein they being wapped, and blinded, & made maisters, and leaders of the blinde, doe with these false argumentes, and apparaunt reasons drawe many with them into the ditch, and alwaies swimminge in the deepe Sea of ignoraunce, and errours, slipperie like Serpentes, and craftely crepinge in with wily wordes of guile & deceite, doe misleade the ignoraunt sorte to beleue their deusses: and extollinge them, doe presume to perswade that the Holy Scripture cannot stande without Logike, without brawlinge, without contention, without Sophismes. I saie not that Logike dothe not auaille to scholerlike exercise, but what it doth profite Diuinitie, I see not, whose chiefest Logike doth consist in quiet and plaine communication. For Christe hath not promised vs in vaine, sayinge, Aske, and ye shal receaue it. So then before the contentious schollers doe learne their Logike, let these faithfull Christians obtaine all necessarie Truthe of him that is master of the Truthe. Moreouer Logike by reason of diners clatering toies cannot finally arise higher, then to Philosophie, but by the meanes of faithfull communication

Logike
unavailable
to scholer-
like exer-
cise, and to
Diuinitie
unprofita-
ble.

cation, men ascende the right & surest wale to the highest knowledge of diuine and humane matters. They are then deceaued who so ever saie that this Logike is the strongest engine of all to destroye Heretikes, whereas in deede shee is the strongest of all Heretikes: in times past the Heretikes Arius, and Nestor, presuminge vpon this Arte did so shamefully dote, that the one affirmed diuerse substaunces in the Trinitee according to the degrees, and times, the other saide that the virgin Marie was not the mother of Christe: & this because they haue presumed to measure Gods workes with Logical Sophismes, obseruing moze the subtil arguments of Aristotle, then considering the wordes of the Scripture of God. For all y^e Doctrine of the Heretikes (as Hierome saith) hath founde a place, & rest amonge the thornie brakes of Aristotle and Chrysippus. Hereupon speaketh Eunomius, & saith, that whiche is borne, was not before it was borne. Hereupon saith Maniceus, that he might exempte God from the state of the wicked, maketh him authour of wickednesse: for that cause Nouatus taketh a waie for geuenes, that he maie take a waie repentance. Of these wellspringes all the Doctrine of the Heretikes deriue the Riuer of their disputations: For sith that there is no communication, but maie be spoken againste, and no argumente, that maie not be disproued by an other; herof it cometh to passe, that men cannot come to any ende of learninge, nor to any knowledge of the Truthe, by the meanes of Logical Disputations: but also it chaunceth, that many decline from the Truthe, to Heresies, while they suppose to haue founde out a shewe of the strongest truthe with Logical Argumentes, or in sutch sorte reprove Heretikes, that they for al that, speake not sounder matters. Wherefore Plato willed, that Logike should be very slowly touched of. wardens, because shee disputeth on bothe partes, & rendreth weake reasons of honestie, and dishonestie. And thus we haue sufficiently spoken of Logike.

Of

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Of Lullius Artes. Cap. 9.

Raimundus Lullius founde out in these latter times a monstrous Arte, little differinge from Logicke, by the whiche as in times paste Gorgias Leontinus did auante (who firste in a greate assemblie of learned men, presumed to reason of euery thinge) euery man mighte plentifully dispute of what matter he listed, and with a certaine artificial and huge heape of Powres, and Verbes, to inuente, and to dispute with ostentation ful of triflinge deceites on bothe sides, of euery curious communication, with this too trimme a skill, and to leaue no place for others to ouercome, and to dilate at large al smal and slender thinges. But it is not needeful to reason muche of these maters, for I haue els where made sufficiente large Commentaries vpon this Arte: but I wil not, that they shoulde deceiue any in so lighte an Arte: and albeit, I seemed to praise it exceedingelye, yet the thinge it selfe maketh it cleare, that we neede not greatly to dispute about it: but herein I wil admonishe you, that this Arte auaileth moze to the outwarde shewe of the witte, and to the ostentation of Learninge, then to gette knowledge, and hath muche moze presumptuousnesse, then efficacie. Furthermoze it is al togeather rude and barbarouse, excepte it be sette out with a certaine moze singulare eloquence.

Of the Arte of Memorie. Cap. 10.

Emonge these Artes, the Arte of Memorie is also accounted, whiche (as Cicero saith) is nothinge els, but a certaine induction, and order of teachinge, consistinge of places, and Images, as it wer in a paper, deuised, first in Characters by Simonides Melito, afterwarde broughte to perfection by Metrodorus Sceptius. Notwithstandinge what so euer it be, it cannot stande without

out natural Memorie, whiche oftentimes is dulled with monstruouse Images, that oftentimes it causeth madnesse, and frensie in steede of profounde and sure Memorie, to wite, whilest that it burdeninge the natural Memorie with the Images of infinite thinges, and wordes, causeth them to become madde with Arte, that abide not contente with the limittes of nature. This is that Arte, whiche in times paste beinge offered to Themistocles by Siminodes, or by some other, he saide: I had leifer forget, because I remember many thinges, that I would not, and cannot forgette that I woulde. And Quintilian speakinge of Metrodorus, saithe: Doubtelesse his vanitie & boastinge was to auante of his Memorie rather gotten by Arte, then geuen by nature. Cicero hathe written thereof in his newe Rhetorike, Quintilian in his Institutions, Seneca, and of the fresher sorte, Franciscus Petrarcha, Mareolus of Verona, Petrus of Rauenna, and Hermannus Buschius, and others, but vnworthie of rehersal, men little knowen, and many daieily professe this, but there is none founde, that hath muche profited in it, and the teachers thereof do oftentimes in steede of gaine receiue reproche. For some knaues are wonte oftentimes in the Scholes with the profession of this Arte to begile scollers with the strangenesse of the thing craftily to despoile the vnaduailed of their monie. Finally it is a childishe bragge to boaste of Memorie: it is a shameful thinge, and a shamelesse mannes propertie to set out in al mens sighte, the readinge of many thinges, like as Marchantes do their wares: whereas in the meane while the howse is emptie.

Of the Mathematickes in general. Cap. 11.

But nowe it is time to speake of the Mathematical sciences, whiche are thought of al others the moste certaine, and notwithstandinge they al consist in
H
nothings

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nothinge els , but in the opinions of theire teachers , to whom greate credite is genen: whiche haue also not a litle erred in them, whereof Albubatar one of them dothe witnesse vnto vs, saicing: that the auncientes euen after Aristotles time did not know the Mathematicalles. And for so muche as al these Artes for the most parte, haue to do about spherical or rounde things, about figure, number , or mouinge , they are finally enforced to confesse, that there is no where perfectly founde any spherical or rounde forme , neither accordinge to Arte, nor Nature. And although these doctrines haue broughte fewe Heresies or none into the Church, notwithstandinge as Augustine saithe , they appertaine nothinge to Saluation, but rather bringe menne into erreure , and withdraue them from God, & (as Hierome saithe) they be not the sciences of Godlinesse.

Of Arithmeticke. Cap. 12.

Emonge these , Arithmeticke is the firste, that is, the science of Numbringe, whiche is , as it were a mother to the residue no lesse superstitious, and vaine, and for the vile practise of Numbringe is had in price of none , but Marchauntes for couetuousnesse sake : for it treateth of Numbers, & their diuisions, whiche is equal, whiche is vnequal, which is equally equal, whiche is vnequally vnequal, which is superfluous, which is lacking, whiche is perfecte, whiche is compounde , whiche is vncompounde, whiche is by him selfe, whiche is to an other. In like manner of proportion, and proportionallitie, and of their speices. Of Harmonical Numbers, and Geometrical, of the diuers passions of Numbers and Minutes, and of the manner of accomptinge.

Of Geomancie. Cap. 13.

Finally Arithmeticke hathe brought forth the Geomantical Diuination , Cardes , Tables , and Dice, and all suche hazardinge Numbers. Albeit , al for the

the moſte parte do attribute Geomancie to Aſtrologie, for the like manner of iudgemente, and alſo becauſe they gette the vertue thereof, not ſo muche out of Numbers, as out of Mouinges, accordinge to that ſaieinge of Ariſtote, in the firſte Booke of the Meteores: The mouinge of the Heanen is euerlaſtinge, and is the beginninge, and cauſe of al inferiour Mouinges. Emonge the auncientes Haly hathe wrytten hereof: of them of latter yeres, Gerardus of Cremona, Bartholomeus of Parmia, and a certaine man called Tundinus. I haue wrytten alſo a certaine Booke of Geomancie, farre differinge from the other, but no leſſe ſuperſtitious, falſe, or if you liſte, I will ſaie lieinge.

Of Diſeplaieinge. Cap. 14.

In like manner the Arte of Diſinge is altogether ha-
zardinge, the moze ſtudious that a man ſhalbe there-
of, the wickedder, and vnhappier he ſhalbe, whileſte
that in deſiringe other mennes goodes, he conſumeth his
owne, and hathe no reſpecte of his Patrimonie. This
Arte is the mother of Lies, of Periuries, of Thefte, of
Debate, of Iniuries, of Manſlaughter, the very inuention
of the Diuels of Hell, whiche when the Kingedome of
Asia was deſtroied, emonge the ſpoiles of the ranſacked
Cittie vnder a diuers manner paſſed to the Greekes.
Hereof came theſe games, not in uſe emonge vs, as
Cheſtes, Senio, Monarchus, Orbiculi, Thaliorchus, Vul-
pes: mozeouer Octocedron, Duodecacedron, in the which
there is thoughte to be ſomme Diuination. There are
whiche ſaie, that Attalus Aſiaticus founde out this Arte,
and diuiſed it thzough the Arte of Pumbzinge: but it is
leſte in wrytinge by the Romaines, that Claudius the Em-
peroure made a Booke of that Arte, whereof he, and be-
fore him, Auguſtus Ceſar were moſte deſirous, and ſtu-
dious. An Arte altogether infamous, and forbidden

*The fruites
of diſe
playe.*

*Diſe playe
the origi-
nal of other
haſarding
games.*

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by the Lawes of all Nations: and whiche is more, Cobilon the Lacedimonian beinge sente Imbassadoure to the Corinthians to make League, when he founde the Gouernours and Aldermenne of Corinth playinge at the Dice, he departed leauinge his businesse vndonne, saieinge: that he would not staine the glorie of the Spartans with this infamie, that they should be saide to haue made League with Dicers. And it was accompted so greate a reproche emonge the noblest men, that the Kinge of the Parthians sente golden Dice to Kinge Demetrius, for a reproche of his lightnesse. And notwithstandinge at this daie, this is the most acustomed Pastime, that Kinges & Noble menne vse. What doe I call it a Pastime? Nay rather theire wisedomie whiche herein hath benne damnable instructed to deceiue.

Of Pithagoras Lotte. Cap. 15.

I Will not passe ouer with silence that which the Pythagoreans affirmed, and as somme suppose, Aristotle himselfe also beleued, that the Characters of the Letters had certaine proper Numbers, by the whiche they did deuine thoroowe the proper names of menne, the Numbers of euery Letter beinge gathered in a somme: whiche beinge put togeather they gaue him victorie, whose somme had exceded the other, whether the question should be asked of Warre, of Debate, of Patrimonie, of Life, or any other like thinge. And in this manner they saie, that Patroclus was vanquished by Hector, and he by Achilles, the which thinge Terence hath written in these Verses.

The names in Letters were thus made, they write,
That these in greater Numbers be, and cite
The others in a lesser somme, and when
A doubtful fight is to be made by men,
The greater Number shewes who conquere shall,
The lesser somme denotes the fatall fall:

So

So was by *Hectors* hande *Patroclus* slaine,
Achilles eke, laide him in Bluddy Baine.

There are also whiche with the like computation promise, that thei wil finde out the Horoscope, as a certaine man called *Alchandrius*, a Philosopher of small fame, hathe witten of these: who is reported to hane ben *Aristotles* Scoller. And *Plinie* writeth, that this was inuented by *Pythagoras*, the vnequal Number of Flowels, in proper names signifieth lacke of sighte, haltinge, and other suche like chaunces.

Againe of Arithmeticke. Cap. 16.

BUt let vs retorne againe to Arithmetick: *Plato* saith that it was firste shewed by a wicked spirite togeather with diceplaine. And *Licurgus* that great lawe maker of the *Lacedemonians* thought good to bannishe it out of his common wealthe as a troublous thinge. For it dothe require a vaine and idle labour, and withholdeth men from profitable and honeste affaires, and oftentimes doo vnnecessarily sweare and stare for thinges of no valewe. Hereof cometh that frowarde contention of the Arithmeticians, whether the equall or vnequall number is to be preferred: whiche number is perfecter three, five, or tenne. In like manner whiche number is termed equally even: aboute whose definition they saie that *Euclides* the very Prince of Geometrie was greatly deceaued. Furthermore I shall hardly saie, what *Pythagorean* misteries, and what Magicall force they dreame to be in numbers, yea being bare of the thinges them selues: and presume to saie, that God coulde not haue Created the worlde without these instrumentes, and paternes: and that the knowledge of all deuine thinges is contained in numbers, as in a rule much more certaine then al others. Hereof haue spronge the Heresies of *Marcus Magus*, and *Valentinus*, grounded vpon numbers, and deriued from numbers,

numbers, which by meanes of very fauite numbers haue presumed to saie, that they are able to finde out, and declare Goddes Religion, and innumerable secretes of the heauenly Meritie. Neare to these are the Pythagorean tetractes reckened amongst the Sacramentes, and many other thinges like vnto these, al whiche are vaine, false, and fained: neither doth there remaine any truth among these Arithmeticians, but an vn sensible & liuelesse number: and yet they beleue that they be placed amonge Diuine men, because they be skilled in numbring, but the Musicians do hardly graunt them this prerogative, more willingly geuinge this honour to their Harmonie.

Of Musicke. Cap. 17.

Lette our talke therefore be of Musicke, whereof amonge the Greekes Aristoxenus hath plentifully written, whiche saide that the soule is Musicke. Whose instructions Boetius did afterwarde write in Latine, I meane that, whiche consisteth in the Harmonie of voices, and soundes, not that whiche they terme the Musicke of Verses, of Rithmes, & sayninge of Verses, whiche is Poetrie, whiche as Alpharabius saithe, is not gotten somuche with speculation, and reason, as with the madness of furie, wherof we haue before spoken: but I speake of that whiche consisteth of pleasante tunes, the which is an agreement of the stringes, or voices, accordinge in their tune and measure, without offendinge of the eares: for the treateth of soundes, of restes, of stoppes, of tunes, of chaunges of voices, and of measure. The Auncientes deuised it into Enharmonica, Chromatica, Diatonica, but they lefte the firste vntouched, (that is Enharmonica) for the ouermuche hidden difficultie, seeminge to them impossible to finde out: the other they haue despised as dishonest and infamous, and haue onely allowed the thirde kinde, (as perswaded that it was in facion like the framinge

The partes
of Musicke.

minge of the worlde). There are eimonge the auncientes
moreouer, which haue distinguished the measures of Mus-
icke accordinge to the wordes of nations, as into the
Phrigian, Lidian, Dorian, whiche as Polimester and Sac-
cada the Argine saie were the auncientest, to the whiche
Sappho Lesbia (as Aristoxenus saithe) added the fourth
measure, that is, Mixilodium, the inuentored whereof
some thinke Tesander to be, some Pythoclides the Trum-
petoure. Lilius saide that Lamprocles the Athenian was
the Authour thereof: and thus the authoritie of the aun-
cientes made these fower measures of Musicke: renow-
med and termed all these together, Enciclopedia, as if
were the circle of Sciences, bicause Musicke dothe com-
prehende al disciplines, as Plato saithe in the firste booke
of his Lawes, that Musicke cannot be entreated of with-
out all disciplines. But of these fower measures they do
not allowe the Phrigian, bicause it withdraweth and ra-
uiseth the minde: but Porphirius termeth it barbarous,
because it is onely fitte to stirre vp men to battaile, and
furie. Some therefore call it Bacchical, as furious, vio-
lente, and troublous: with whose Harmonie, which they
declare with the soote Anapestus, we reade that the Lace-
demonians and Cretensians were stirred to armes: Ti-
motheus with the same incensed Kinge Alexander to
warre: and a yonge man called Tauronitanus, according
as Boetius saithe, beinge stirred vp with this Phrigian
sounde, hastened to burne a house where there laie a
strumpet hidden. Plato blameth moreouer the Lidian
sounde, as sharpe swainging from the modestie of the
Dorian, fitte for lamentations: notwithstandinge (as
it pleaseth some men) it is meede for such as are by nature
merrie and pleasaunt. For this cause they saie that the
Lidians a merie and very pleasaunt people, are delited
with this Musicke. Which the Toskans moreouer the off-
spring of the Lidians were wonte to vse in roundes. But
the Dorian sounde as the grauest and honestest is in all
measures.

A strange
kinde of
Musicke.

measures modeste, conueniente to the grauest affections of the minde, and mountings of the bodie, and profitable to liue well and vprightly they preferre before all the other: and therefore was had in greate reuerence of the Cretensians, Lacedemonians, and Arcadians. Kinge Agamemnon, also goynge to the Troiane warre, lefte at home a Musitian that plaid the Dorian tune, who with the softe Spondeus preserved his wife Clitemnestra, in Chastitie and Honestie, wherefore shee coulde not be deflowred by Egisthus, before he had wickedly slaine the Musitian. Perte they saie that Mixilodium is meete for Tragedies, and sorrowful things, and hath force to stirre vp, to drawe backe, and to put a waie sorrowe. There are some whiche haue founde besides these sower measures, others also, as them whiche they call Collaterall, that is, Hypodorius, Hypololydius, and Hypophrigius, that there maye be seuen correspondente to so many Planetes: to the whiche Ptolomeus added the eighthe, called Hiper-mixolidius, the highest of al the other, assigned to the Firmament: but Lucius Apuleius in the firste Booke of his Florida doth write of fine measures, the Eolian, the varynge Hiaastian, the lamentable Lidian, the fierce Phrigian, and the religious Dorian. To these some do adioigne the lustie and iocunde Ionick. Moreover Martiannus according to the tradition of Aristoxenus, doth number five principal measures, & ten Appendantes, or Collaterals. And although men confesse that this Arte hath muche sweetenesse, yet the comon opinion is, & also every one maye see it by experience, that it is the exercise of baseness, & of an vnprofitable & vntemperate wit, which haue no consideration of beginning nor endinge, as it is reade of Archabius the trumpetoare, to whom men were glad to geue more to make him rease, then to make him singe. Of whiche so vnreasonable Musitians Horace speaketh:

It is a faulte, a common faulte
that all our Minstrels vse,

The

The more you seeme to craue a songe
the more they will refuse.

Request them not they neuer cease, &c.

For this cause Musicke hath euer bene wandzinge here &
there for price and pence, and is the seruaunte of baubrie
whiche no graue, modeste, honeste, and valiaunt man e-
uer professed: and therefore the Greekes with a common
worde called them the Artificers of Father Bacchus, or
els (as Aristotle saith) Dionisiaci technitæ, that is the *Feastes of*
artificers of the Bacchanalia, whiche for the moste parte, *the Panims*
were alwaies vsed to haue lewde customes: leadinge for *which they*
the moste parte, an vnchaste Life: partly also in Miserie, *did cele-*
and Pouertie, the whiche bredeth and encreaseeth Vices. *brate with*
The Kinges of the Persians, and Medes reckened Musiti- *all abhomi-*
ans emonge Parasites, and Plaiers, as they whiche take *nation of*
pleasure of their owne dminges, and make little ac- *Lecherie.*
counpte of the Maisters. And Antisthenes that wise
man, when he hearde, that a certaine man, called Ismeni-
as, was a very good Trumpetoure, he saide, He is a Ke-
baulde, for if he were an honest man, he woulde not be a
Trumpetoure: for as it is saide, that is no sober, and ho-
neste mannes Arte, but the practise of Plaiers and idle
personnes. This did Scipio Emilianus, and Cato con-
temne, as farre of from the Custome of the Romaines.
Augustus, and Nero were blamed, because they did
ouer greedilye followe Musicke. But Augustus beinge
reproued did refraine: Nero couetinge it more and
more, was for this cause had in contempte, and little e-
stimation. Kinge Philippe vnderstandinge that his
Sonne had swætelý songe in a certaine place, he repro-
ued him, sayinge, arte thou not ashamed, that thou
knowest to singe so well? It is enough, and too much for
a Prince, to haue leasure to heare, when other singe.
Iupiter singeth not emong the Greeke Poetes, nor soun-
deth the Harpe. Learned Pallas dooth detest the Flute.
In Homer a Harpar plaieth, and Alciones, and Vlisses

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geue eare. In Virgill Iopa dothe singe and sounde the Harpe, Aeneas and Dido do harken. When on a time Alexander the greate did singe, Antigonus his Maister rente his Harpe a sunder, and caste it awaie, saieinge: It is nowe meete for thy age to Rule, and not to Singe. And the Egyptians also, as Diodorus testifieth, did forbid theire younge menne to learne Musicke, as that whiche dothe effeminate the mindes of men. And Ephorus, (as Polibius witneseth) saide, that it was inuented to no other ende, but to deceiue men. But in very deede what is moze vnprofitable, moze to be despised, and moze to be eschewed, then these Pipers, Singers, and other sortes of Musicians: whiche with so many, and diuers voices of songes, surpassinge the chirpinge of all Birdes, with a certaine venemous sweetenesse, like to the Mermaides, with voices, gestures, and lasciuious soundes, do deffile and corrupte mens mindes. For the which thing the women of the Ciconians did persecute Orpheus vnto the Deathe, because with his Musicke he corrupted their menne. But if there be any truthe in Fables, a hundred eyes had Argus in his heade, all which notwithstandinge were broughte a sleepe, and put out with the Harmonie of one Baggepipe. And yet for this, these Musicians do much boaste, as though that they were more able to moue the affections, then Rhetoricians are: which be so muche misleadde by their maddenesse, that they as firme moreouer the Heauens them selues to singe, yet with voices neuer hearde of any man, excepte perhappes they haue come to the knowledge of those Musicians by meanes of theire Euouae, or throughe Drunkennesse, or Dreaminge. And yet in the meane season, there hath no Musitian descended from Heauen, that hath knowen all the concordances of voices, and that hath sounde out all the measures of proportions. And for all that they say, that it is a very perfecte Arte, and which comprehendeth all Disciplines, and that it cannot be handled without

out the knowledge of all Learnings: attributing to it besides the force of Diuination, whereby the plights of the bodye, the passions of the minde, the manners of men maie thereby be iudged. They saie mozeouer, that it is an endelesse Arte, and that it cannot be thozowely learned with any witte: but that dailely accozding to the capacitie of euery man, it geueth freshe melodie. And therfore Anaxilas saithe not amisse: By God saithe he, Musike is euen like Affricke, it pærely bringeth forth the somme straunge Beaste. Anathasius for the vanitie thereof did forbidde it the Churches: but Ambrose moze desirous of Ceremonie & Pompe, ordained in the Church the vse of singinge and plateinge on the Organs. But Augustine standinge in doubt, saith in his Confessions, that hereof there grew to him a harde doubt: but now a daies the vnlaeful libertie of Musicke, is so muche vsed in Churches, that together with the Canon of the Masse, very filthie songes haue like tunes in the Organs, and the Diuine Seruice is songe by lasciuious Musittians hired for a greate stipende, not for the vnderstandinge of the hearers, but for the stirringe vp of the minde: But for dishoneste lasciuiousnesse, not with manly voices, but with beastely sheeking, while the childezen brate the Discante, somme bellowe the Tenoure, somme barke the Conterpointe, some howle the Treble, some grunte the Base, and cause many soundes to be hearde, and no wordes and sentences to be vnderstode, but in this sorte the authoritie of iudgement is taken both from the eares, and minde.

*Ambrose
the authour
of singinge
and piping
in the
Church.*

Of Daunsinge. Cap. 18.

TH Musicke mozeouer belongeth the Arte of Daunsinge, very exceptable to Maidens, & Louers whiche they learne with greate care, and without tediousnesse doe prolonge it vntil midnighte, and with great dis-

ligence

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ligence doe deuise to daunce with framed gestures, and with measurable pases to y sound of the Cymbal, Harpe, or Flute, and doe as they thinke very wisely, & subtilly, the sondest thing of al other, & litle differing fro madnes, whiche excepte it were tempered with the sounde of instrumentes, & as it is saide if vanitée did not commend vanitée, there shoulde be no sighte moze ridiculous, nor moze out of order then daunsinge: this is a libertie to wantonnesse, a friende to wickednesse, a prouocation to fleshly luste, enemye to chastitie, and a pastime vnworthy of al honest persons. There oftentimes a matrone (as Petrarcha saithe) hath losse her longe preserved honour: oftentimes the unhappie maiden hath there learned that, whereof shee had benne better to be ignorant: there the same & honestie of many women is losse. Infinite from thece haue returned home vnchaste, many with a doubtful minde, but none chaste in thought and deede. And we haue often sene that womanlike honestie in daunsinge hath benne thzowen downe to the grounde, and alwaies vehemently prouoked & assaulted: yet some of the Greeke wryters haue commended it, as they hane many filthie & wicked thinges: and haue saide that the beginninges of this Daunsinge came as it were by inspiration from the highe Heauens from the course of the Sterres, and Planetes, from their goinge and turninge, meeting, and order as it were from a certaine Harmoniall daunsinge of the heauenly Bodies, togeather with the generation of the worlde. Some saie it was the inuention of the Satires: and affirme also that Bacchus by the meanes of this Arte conquered the Toscons, the Indians, & the Lidians, a vere warrelike Nation. For this cause at length this Daunsinge was brought into Religion, and was commaunded to be vsed by the Coribantes in Phrigia, by the Curetes in Creta, and by the Goddesse Rhea: and in Delus there was no sacrifice done, which was not soigned with daunsinge, and there were neuer any feastes and ceremonies

montes hallowed without daunsinge. The Brachmanni also a people of India, in the morninge and eveninge turninge towarde the Sunne, did honoure it daunsinge. Emonge the Ethiopians also, Egyptians, Thraciaus, and Scithians, daunsinge was reckened emonge the Ceremonies of their Sacrifices, bicause it was ordained by Orpheus, and Muscus excellent daunsers. There were also emonge the Romans the Priestes called Salij, whiche daunsed in the honour of Mars. The Lacedemonians the worthiest of all the Grækes, when they had learned to daunse of Castor and Pollux, they accustomed to do all thinges with daunsinge. It was so muche esteemed in Thessalia, that the Presidentes, and Chieftans were honozed with the name of daunsers. Yea Socrates who was iudged by the Oracle the wisest of all men, beinge of good peeres, was not ashamed to learne it, but praised it exceedingly, and reckened it emonge the grauest learninges: a thinge seemed grauer vnto him, then that he mighte well speake of it, whiche beinge altogether diuine should take his beginninge with the worlde, and come to lighte with Loue the auncient God. But it is no maruaile that the Grækes do in this sorte studie Philosophie, whiche haue made the Goddes authours of Adultrie, of Whoredome, of Murder, and finally of all wickednesse. They haue written many booke of daunsinge, in which is contained all the kindes, qualities, and measures, and haue reckened vpon the names of them, and of what sorte euery one of them should be, and who inuented it: wherefore I will speake no further of them. The auncient Romaines graue men by reason of their wisdom and authoritie did refuse all daunsinge, and no honeste Patrone was commended emonge them for daunsinge. For this cause Salust did caste Sempronia in the teeth, for that shee songe and daunsed more cunningly then becomed an honest woman: and which is more, skilfulnes in daunsinge was a reproche to Gabinus, whiche had benne consull, and to

Socrates, a

Dauncer.

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Marcus Celiuſ alſo: and Marcus Cato layde to Luciuſ Murena his charge that he daunſed in Aſia, whom Cice-ro defendinge, durſt not maintaine this as a thinge well donne, but ſtoutely denied, that he did it: ſayinge, No ſober man excepte perhappes he ware pꝛeuſhe, daunſeth in ſolitarineſſe, in a moderate and honeſt bankette; but daunſinge is the waſte companion of diſordinate bau-kettes, of vnmeaſurable paſtime, and of filthy pleaſures. Therfore it muſt needes be, that daunſing is the vileſt vice of al: and truely it cannot eaſely be ſaide what miſchiefes the ſighte, and the hiringe do receaue hereby, whiche af-terwarde be the cauſes of communication, & embracinge. They daunce with diſordinate geſtures, and with mon-ſtrous thumpinge of the fete, to pleaſaunt ſoundes, to wanton ſonges, to diſhoneſt verſes: Maidens and Ma-trons are groped and handled with vnchaſte handes, & kiſſed, and diſhoneſtly embraced: and the thinges whiche nature hath hidden, modeſtie covered, are then often-times by meanes of laſciousnes made naked, and ri-bauldrie vnder the colour of paſtime is diſſembled. An exerciſe doubtleſſe not deſcended from Heauen, but by the Deuils of Hell deuiled to the iniurie of the diuinitie, when the people of Iſraell erected a Calſe in the deſerte, which after they had done Sacrifice, began to eate, and drinke, and afterwarde roſe vp to ſpozte themſelues, and ſinginge, daunſed in a rounde. And thus we haue ſuffi-ciently ſpoken of daunſinge.

Of the Arte of fightinge with the Sworde. Cap. 19.

I Am not yet ignoraunt in this place that there are be-ſide many other kindes of daunſinge commended by auncient wziters: of whiche the greateſt parte is not this daie in uſe, parte is yet in uſe, as the dauncinge in Armour ſitte ſoz ſworde playing, ſencinge, and warre-farre, a tragicall Arte doubtles: wherein the plaie is to
kil

kill a guiltlesse man, and a great infamie somewhat lingeringly to receaue a deadly wounde. An Arte to be detested of al men; to the madnes wherof crueltie is ioigned: and suche other like kindes of daunsinge, as they are full of vanitie, and impudencie, they are not so muche to be despised as detested, because they teache nothinge els but marueilous customes how men should ware madde.

Of the Science of Stage Plaiers. Cap. 20.

The stage plaiers daunsing is the Arte of Imitation, and Demonstration, expresseinge the thinges conceaued in the minde with a seemely gesture: so plainly and liuely representinge mens manners and affections: that the very beholder plainly perceaueth him to be a stage player by infinite gestures, and mouinges, although he saie nothinge. This Arte dothe so much excell, that there neede no interpreters, for it dothe so aptly represent with pleasaunt gesture an olde man, a boye, a woman, a seruant, a handmaide, a drunkarde, an angry person, and the differences and passions of all persons, that also the beholder standinge aloofe of, not hearing the Enterlude maie perceau the argument thereof by the onely motions of the plaier. For this cause we reade that stage plaiers haue benne had in greate price, and it is certaine as Macrobius recompteth, that Cicero was accustomed to cotende with Roscius the stage plaier (whom also Silla the dictatour helde very deare) whether he with diuers gestures, did oftener represent one thing, or he thoroow his abundance of Eloquence did pronounce it in diuers talke: the whiche thinge moued Roscius to write a Booke, wherein he compared Eloquence with the Stage plaiers Arte. But the Citie of Mariles, as Valerius writeth, keppe so greate grauitie, that it woulde receaue into it no stage players, because their argumentes for the moste parte contained the actes, and doinges of Harlottes,

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Harlottes, to the ende that the custome of beholdinge suche thinges, mighte not also cause a licence of solowinge it. And therefore to exercise this Arte, is not onely a dishonest and wicked occupation, but also to behold it, and therein to delite is a shameful thinge, bicause that the delite of a wanton minde is an offence. And to conclude, there was in times paste no name moze infamous then stage players, and mozeouer, al they that had plaide an Enterlude in the Theater, were by the lawes depriued from all honour.

Of Rhetorisme, or of the Rhetoricall Daunsinge. Cap. 21.

There was mozeouer the Rhetoricall daunsinge, not vnlike that of the stage players, but not so vehement, whiche Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Quintilian, and very many of the Stoickes thought very profitable, and necessary for an Oratour: so that it were done with a certaine apte gesture of the bodie, and with a setled framinge of the countenance, and bodie: and also with the stedfastnes of the eyes, with the grauitie of the countenance, and with the sounde of the voice appllied to euery worde and sentence, with an effectuall mouinge of the bodie to such things, as are exprested, but without great sturringe of the bodie. Yet this daunsinge or Histrionical Rhetorike in the ende beganne to be lesse of all Oratours: and Augustus admonished Tiberius that he should speake with the mouthe not with the fingers, and at this presente it is altogeather laide aside: onely it is yet obserued of some staged Freres (albeit in times paste stage players were bannished out of the Churche, and denied the Holy Sacrament of Communion) of whiche some we see at this day to crie out of the pulpite to the people with marueilous straininge of the voice, with a diuers facioned countenance, with a rollinge and wanton eie, with castinge

castinge abroade of the armes, with daunsing sêete, with inflamed reines, and with diuers mouings, reuolutions, turninges aboute, bpwarde lokes, leapinges, gesturing with all his bodie, as that which because of the vnconstancie of the minde is enforced to turne with it: mindefull perhaps of the sentence of Demosthenes, who (as it is in Valerius) beinge demaunded, what was most effectual in speaking, he answered, Pronuntiatio: being asked the seconde and the thirde time, he made the same answere: and that all most al the force of speaking consisted herein. But lesse we goe to farre astraine from our enterprised matter, let vs now goe to Geometric.

Of Geometric. Cap. 22.

Gometric, which Philo the Iewe termeth the Princeesse and mother of al learninges, hath this prayse befoze other Sciences: that whereas well neare emonge al sectes of learninges there be many and innumerable contentions, all the Geometricians doe accorde togeather on euery side: and at no time there is any contention emonge them but of pointes, of lines, of the better shewe of thinges, whether they maye be deuised or not, but they differ not one fro an other, neither in learninge, nor in teachinge: but euery one both endeouore to surpasse the other with newe & moze subtile inuentions, whiche neuer any hath deuised. Yet no Geometrician hath founde out the true Quadrature of the Circle, and hath geuen no equall line to the side: although Archimedes the Syracusan in times past, thought that he had founde out these thinges, and many after him vntil these daies haue thought the same, but in a manner they haue gonne aboute it in vaine, although they sêeme to haue saide thinges like to the Truthe. Yet suche is their ambition, that they will neuer rest vpon the preceptes of their predecessours, but beleuinge in suche thinges to
finde.

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An hearbe
that pur-
geth Mes-
lancolie.

Engins of
warre not
in vse.

Marueilous
things
done by Ge-
ometrie.

finde out some thinge moze then their Masters, doo bring
them selues into so great madnes, that al the Helleborus
in the worlde sufficeth not to purge it. Yet on this Geo-
metrie doth depende: besides this, that it doth searche out
the draughtes of figures, the spaces, the greatnesse, the
bodics, the measures, and weightes: all the cunninge
workinge of toles, and artificiall instrumentes, Magna-
ries, Machanopocetickes, Poliorcetickes, fitte aswell for
the warres, as buildinges, & other vses, as y engins cal-
led Rams, Testudines, Cuniculines, Catapultes, Scorpions,
Exosters, Sambukes, ladders, tolleons, walking towres,
Heliopolins, shippes, galleis, bridges, miles. In like man-
ner charriotes with two, with thre, and fower wheles,
poles, crans, wheeles, leauers, and other instrumentes,
by whose meanes very grate burdens are with small
mighte and force drawn and raised vp. Moreouer all
thinges whiche are made either of weighte, or water, or
aire, or sinewes, or cordes, as the clockes which goe with
weight, & Organs whiche sounde with blastes of winde:
and moreouer all watrie and windie instrumentes, and
of these, suche as are made but for pleasure and admira-
tion: as balls daunsinge by themselves: candel making
theire owne wakers: and gourdes that breathe fire out
of them: and that beaste, which Politian speaketh of, who
whilst that he is cut on the table, drinketh: and repre-
senteth the motions and voices of a liuinge creature. Of
such a like workmanship spraketh Mercurius, that the
Egyptians made the images of their Goddes, that they
could speake distinctly, and go also. Architas Tarentinus
also did in suche sorte make a doue of timber with Geo-
metricall proportions, that he rose vp on high and flew.
And it is reade moreouer, that Archimedes first wrought
an heauen of brasle with so great workmanship, that
therein the motions of all the Planets were moste ma-
nifestly perceaued: and the revolutions of al the heauen-
ly sphere, like to the whiche we haue seene none made in
these

these latter daies. Fro this Arte also come diuers sortes of warrelike instrumentes, gunnes, and other engins that caste fire: of whiche lately I made a special booke vnder the title of Pirographia: whereof now at the laste I doe muche repent me: because he teacheth nothinge els, but a moste damnable skil to doe exceddinge greate mischiefes. In fine all the cunninge that is in paintinge, in the measuring of the worlde, in grounde tilthe and trimminge, in the Arte of warre, in foundinge of mettals, in the Arte of workinge Images in earthe, in Image makinge, in forginge, in buildinge, and in mettals, for the moste parte cometh of Geometrie.

Of the Arte Opticke, or Perspective. Cap. 23.

Nexte after Geometrie, is the Arte Opticke whiche is called Perspective: afterwarde the measure of the worlde, and Architecture. This Arte Perspective or Opticke doth entreate of thre kindes of seeinge, that is to saie, The Straighte, the Bowinge, and the Broken or Scotched. It teacheth what is Lighte, Shadowe, and Spaces, and perceaueth the causes of visible thinges, whiche seeme false by the distaunces: it considereth the spreadinge of the Beames, by one or many euidente thinges, vpon diuerse Figures of the bodyes, also the Representations of the Lighte, and Shadowes, and that whiche dothe chaunce to thinges, to the Sighte, and to the Middeste: and sheweth in what sorte the Thing, and the Sighte are diuersely affected thoroowe the diuersitie of the middest. But there are sundrie and diuers opinions of the manner of seeinge. For Plato supposeth the Sighte to be made accordinge to the clearenesse: to wete, that whiche cometh from the eies: the Lighte runninge to an outwarde ayre, that Light whiche is carried from the bodies beinge broughte againste it: but that whiche is aboute the middeste of the aire, doth cause

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that it spreadeth, and turneth backe to the vertue of the
Sight beinge spreade abroad, end like vnto Fire.
Galene and Plato are of one opinion: but Hipparchus
saith, that the beames spreadinge abroad from the eyes
vnto bodies, touching them as it were with a certaine
feeling, or groping, doe geue that whiche they receiue
to the Sight. And the Epicures affirme, that the simi-
litudes of thinges whiche appeare, doe of them selues
enter into the eyes. Aristotle is of opinion, that the si-
militudes of thinges not Corporal, but according to the
qualitie thowoe the alteration of the aire, whiche is in
compasse, doth come from visible thinges vnto the sight.
But Porphyrius saith, that neither the Beames, neither
the similitudes, nor any other thinge is the cause of see-
ing, but the Soule alone, that knoweth her selfe visible,
and that is one of all thinges, which knoweth her selfe in
all thinges that are. The Geometritians and Perspecti-
uians appoaching somewhat neare to Hipparchus, doe af-
firme, that there be certaine Figures made of the mee-
tinge togeather of the Beames, whiche are sente out
thowoe the eyes, from whence the Sight doth compre-
hende in one, many visible thinges, but they mosse cer-
taine of all, where so euer the Beames shall meeete toge-
ther. Certes Alchindus saith otherwise of the Sightes:
but it seemeth to Augustine, that the power of the Soule
dothe bringe somewhat to effecte in the eyes, the whiche
is not yet perceaued of the Studentes of Wisedome.
This Science then dothe very muche auaille to finde out
the Varietie of the Heauenly bodies, the Distauce of
the Greatenesse, the Mouinge, the Reuolutions, & Com-
passes of them, and serueth for Architecture in measu-
ringe houses. Perte to this, it geneth a very great Or-
namente to Painters crafte, and to forginge of Glasses.
In suche manner, that these Artes, without this, cannot
be broughte to perfection. For it sheweth by what mea-
nes we shoulde not facion numberlesse, and deformed
thinges.

things in Images, the whiche be scene, by reason of the spaces, and highnesse.

Of Paintinge. Cap. 24.

Wherfore Paintinge is a monstrous Arte, but very studious for the counterfayting of natural things, whiche consisteth in the description of Lines, and in the due laying of Colours. This in time paste, was had in so great price, that it helde the firste degree of the Liberall Artes. Yet it is no lesse Liberal, then Poetrie, as Horace very wel hath saide.

The Painters, and the Poetes eke,

Haue alwaies had an equal power,

What things they liste to painte, and speake.

It is saide, that Paintinge is nothinge els, but a silente Poetrie, & Poetrie a speakinge Picture: so neare be thei alied togeather. For like as Poetes doe faine Fables, and Histories, so doe Painters too, and doe expresse the likeness of al things, the Light, the Brightnesse, the Shadows, the Highest and Lowest partes. Moreover Paintinge hath this of the Arte Perspective, that it deceiveth the sighte, and in an Image diuersely placed, doth caste many fourmes over the eyes of the beholders: and it dothe attaine to that, whereunto the Arte of Grauinge is neuer able to come, it painteth the Fire, the Sonne beames, the Lighte, the Thunder, the Lightninge, the Cleames of Lightninge, the goinge downe of the Sonne, the Morning, the Euening, the Clowdes, mens Passions, and Thoughtes of the minde: and doth almoste expresse the very voice, and with counterfayted measures, maketh the things scene whiche are not, as those whiche are, and maketh the things that are not so, to appeare in an other manner. Euen as the Histori-^{Two arti-} ficiall pi-^{ctures of} dour recoump-^{Zeuxis and} te of Zeuxis, and Parrhasius the Painters, whiche, when they came in contention, touchinge the ex-^{cellencie} cellencie Parrhasius.

A wonder-
full Pi-
cture.

cellencie of workmanshippe, and that the firste had shew-
wed grapes so lively painted, that Birdes flew to them:
The other broughte a painted sheete, counterfaitinge the
truthe in suche sorte: that he puffed vp with pride for the
iudgemente that the Birdes had of his Picture, desired
him to take awaie the sheete, and shewe him the Picture.
At the laste acknowledginge his erreure, was constrain-
ned to geue him the prycke and price, for so muche as he
had deceiued the birdes, and Parrhasius, the craftes man.
And Plinie reporteth, that at the plaies of Claudius, was
a marueilous Picture: that the Crows deceiued with
the Apparaunce, flew to the likenesse of Eyles.
And accordinge as the same Authour saith, in a solemne
election of the Triumviri, it was scene for a proufe, that
the Birdes ceased to singe, by reason of a painted Ser-
pente. Furthermore Paintinge hath this, that in all her
workes, there is more vnderstode, and iudged, the scene:
as Plutarke very diligently hath sought out these thin-
ges in his Images: and albeit the cunnynge be great, yet
the witte doth surpasse the cunnynge.

• Of the Arte of Grauing, and Moulding. Cap. 25.

Nexte to Paintinge commeth Grauinge, the Arte of
Mouldinge, of Foundinge, of Iewel Cuttinge, the
workes of a lighte and foolish witte, whiche maie
yet also be comprehended vnder Architecture. Grauing
forgeth the Images of Things, of Stoane, of Timber,
of Iuorie: and the like doth the Moulder make of Claye.
But the Arte of Founding doth represent the in Brasse,
and other Metals. The Jeweller doth graue in Stoane,
& Pearle. Of these Artes, emange them of latter time,
hath Pomponius Gauricus writtten. Yet I thinke that al
these Artes togeather with Paintinge were founde out
by the Diuelles of Hell, for Pompe, for pleasure, and for
superstition. The workers wherof were they, whiche
firste

firste accordinge to the wordes of Paule, haue chaunged the glorie of the Incorruptible God, into the likenesse of a Corruptible Image of a Man, of Birdes, of Beastes, of Serpentes, whiche doinge againste Goddes Commaundemente, forbiddinge that no grauen Image, or Likenesse shoulde be made, as well of the thinges which are aboue in Heauen, as of them whiche are in the Earth beneath, haue broughte in an Idolatrie very odiousse to God, whereof the Wise man speaketh: The very Idoll is accursed, and he that made it, and that whiche is made shal suffer tormentes. For the vanitie of menne, as the same saith, hath founde out these Artes, for the temptation of mennes Soules, and to beguile the ignorant; and the inuention of them, is the corruption of Life.

Peuerthelesse we Christians, do in such sorte dote more then any Nations, that we are not ashamed to keepe this corruption of Life & manners, in euery place, in Halles, in Houses, and in Chambers. To the ende, that our Wives, and Daughters make with lasciuious Images be alured to Luxuriouse. Yea and whiche is more, with very great reuerence we carry them into Churches, into Holy places, and place them vpon the Altare of God, not without daunger of Idolatrie: but hereof we wil speake more at large in Religion. Notwithstandinge, I learned in time paste in Italie, that there was in Pictures and Images, an authoritie greatly to be esteemed: for whereas, there was an obstinate strife betwene the Augustine Freeres: and the vulgare Chanons before the Pope, concerning the habite, or apparrel of S. Augustine, that is to saie, whether he did weare a blacke weede vpon a white Coate, or a white weede vpon a blacke Coate. And findinge nothinge in the Scriptures, whiche made to the ending of this strife, the Romaine Iudges thought good, to preferre the whole matter to Painters, and Image Makers, and that whiche they could auouche out of Ancient Pictures and Images, should be holden for a

Definitive

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Definitive sentence. I beyng grounded vpon this example, when sometime with excedinge great diligence I searched for the Originall of the Frères coule, and could finde nothinge for that matter in the Scriptures, at length, I wente me to the Painters, and for this thinge I sought in the Cloisters, & in the Celles of the Frères, where for the moste parte the Histories of bothe Testaments are painted: and when I coulde not finde in all the Olde Testamente, none of the Patriarkes, none of the Priestes, none of the Prophets, none of the Leuites, nor yet Helias him selfe, whom the Carmelitans woulde haue to be their Patrone, with a coule: taking the Newe Testament in hande, I founde their Zacharie, Symeon, Iohn Baptist, Ioseph, Christe, the Apostles, the Disciples, the Scribes, the Phariseis, the high Prieste, Annas, Caiphas, Herode, Pilate, and many other, I sawe in no place a Frères coule: and againe diligently examininge euery thinge from the beginninge, immediatly in the foreparte of the Historie the Diuel was painted with a Cowle, to witte, he whiche wente to tempte Christe in the Deserte.

The Deuill first inuentour of the Frères coule. I reioiced excedingly, that I had founde that in the pictures, whiche vntill that time I coulde not see in nothing: that is to saie, that the Diuel was the first author of the Cowle, of whom afterwarde, I suppose, that other Monkes, and Frères take by the facion vnder diuers colours, or perhaps haue retained it, as a thinge leste to them by inheritaunce.

Of the Arte of seeinge Glasses. Cap. 26.

But lette vs retorne againe to the Arte Perspective, which is also a great heape to them y make Glasses, declaring al the affections, & deceites of such, whose experimentes be seene in diuers sortes of Glasses, as are the hollowe, the imbossed, the plaine, the Columnarie, the Piramidal, the Turbinal, the bunched, the rounde, the cornered,

cornered, the inuerfed, the euerfed, the regular, the vnre-
gular, the maffe, and the cleare. So we reade, as Celiuſ
recompteth in the auncient readings, that in Auguſtus
time a certaine man called Hoſtius, but without doubt the firſte beginner of all diſhoneſtie, made Glaſſes of ſuch
ſorte, whiche represented the Images of thinges farre
greater then they were, that the finger ſhould excede in
length, and greatneſſe, the meaſure of the arme. There
is made a Glaſſe alſo, wherein a man maie ſee the Image
of an other, and not his owne. And an other, that beinge
put in one place dothe expreſſe the Image of nothing: and
remoued to an other place repreſenteth likenesſes. In
like manner an other that cauſeth the Images of all
thinges to appeare, and of one thinge to make many ſi-
militudes to be ſcene. And of an other ſorte, that con-
trary to the manner of al other Glaſſes maketh the right
ſide turne to the righte, and the leſte ſide to the leſte. And
there are Glaſſes made, that burne before, and behinde,
and an other, that dothe not repreſente the image recea-
ued within him, but caſteth it farre of in the ayre, and
there dothe make it appeare like an ayre image, and by
the collection of the Sunne beames, with great force ſet-
teth fire very farre of in euery thinge that maie be bur-
ned, and many other like thinges, as I haue ſometime
ſcene, and knowen to make. Cleare Glaſſes haue alſo
theire deceites, that is to ſaie, that they make a greate
thinge ſeeme little, and contrarywiſe, the leaſte thinges
to appeare greate, and the thinges that are farre of, at
hande, & them that be neare to vs, to ſeeme farre hence,
them that be vnder vs, ouer vs: and them that are aboue
vs, to appeare beneath, or ſhew them ſelues to our ſight
in an other manner. There be Glaſſes alſo, that make
one thinge to appeare many, and other, that repre-
ſente thinges in diuers colours, as are in the rainebowe,
or vnder diuers and vnlke formes, the ſighte beinge de-
creaſed, & ſuche like. And I know how to make Glaſſes,

Mercuriallous
Glaſſes.

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in whiche, when the Sunne shineth, all thinges that are lightened with his beames, may very plainly be seene a great space of, as thre or foure miles. And this is worthy of admiration in the plaine Glasses, that the lesser they be accordinge to their size, doe represente the thinge lesser then it is, and howe great soever they be, yet they neuer shewe the thinge greater then it is: the which Augustine consideringe writinge to Nebridius, is of opinion that there is within them some hidden thing: and to conclude all these thinges are vaine and superfluous, and inuented to no other ende, but for pompe and idle pleasure. Of Glasses many haue written aswell Greekes, as Latines: but the beste of all is one Vitellius.

Of the Measure of the worlde. Cap. 27.

LEt vs nowe briefly discourse of the measure of the worlde, and this is deuided into Cosmographie, and Geographie, the one and the other dothe measure and deuide the worlde, but the firste according to the order of the Heauenly bodies, and their diuision, sheweth the situation of countries, and places subiecte to them, by the measures of degrees, and minutes, and with Mathematicall rules teacheth the order of the climates, the difference of the daye and night, the quarters from whence the windes doe blowe, the diuers risings of the Starres the Elevationes of the poles, the parallels, & none tides, the shadowes of the Gnomons, and other thinges, which yet remaine to all places. But the other hauinge no consideration of the celestall bodies, measureth the worlde by furlonges & miles, and doth deuide it by Mountaines, Woodes, Lakes, Riuers, Seas, and Sea coastes, and sheweth the Nations, the People, the Kingdomes, the Provinces, the Citties, the Heauens, and other thinges worthy of memorie.

And doth declare the Countries guise
and settinge of the soile,

And

And what each Countrie bringeth foorth,
and eke denies, with toile.

And as it were with a certaine imitation of paintinge,
dothe accorde to the rules of Geometrie, and the Arte
Perspectiue, expresse the whole worlde in a Globe, or
plaine Table.

Depaintinge all the worlde in little rounge.

Some vnder these kindes doe accompte Chorographie,
the whiche severally searchinge out certaine particular
places doth depainte them with a moze perfecte, and as
it were a full finished similitude:

VVith sundrie kindes of pleasaunte sightes,
be sette on euery side

VVith vines, woodes, fieldes, and fountaines fresh,
with medowes greene and wide,

And fleting streames of Riuers, whiche
into the Sea doo slide.

And where the Earth is pressed downe
and riseth vp on hie,

Vprearinge Hilles with loftie toppes
vnto the Starrie skie.

The measure of the worlde dothe promise vs all these
thinges, and them whiche we haue spoken of before. But
the Authours, that will teache it vs, are with many dis-
cordes at contention emonge themselves of the Limits,
Longitudes, Latitudes, Magnitudes, measures, di-
staunces, climates: muche disagreeinge one from an other
in that habitude or state wher in they be. The whiche
Eratosthenes, Strabo, Marinus, Ptolomeus, Dionysius, and
the fresher writers haue diuers waies deuised. They
haue also diuers opinions touching the middest of the
earthe, whiche Ptolomeus placeth vnder the Equinoctiall
line, Strabo beleued, that Parnassus a mountaine in Greece
was the middest of the Earth, to whome Plutarcke, and
Lactantius the Grammarian doe agree, supposinge that
Mountaine to haue benne, in the time of the vniuersall

floudde, a difference betwene the waters & the Heauen.
As Lucane writeth hereof.

This mountaines toppe appearde alone
when flouddes did fill the lande,
And twixte the Seas, and gleaminge starres
did for a diffrence stande.

But if this proufe be sufficient to ouercome, the middest of the Earthe shall not be in Parnassus the Mountains of Greece, but in Gordicum a mountaine of Armenia, whiche as Berofus testifieth appeared, firste after the deluge, and vpon him the Arke of Noë lighted. Others are of an other opinion, and saie that the middest of the earthe was founde by the flight of Eagles. There be Diuines also, whiche puttinge their heekes emonge this corne, will haue Ierusalem to be the middest of the earth, because it is writen by the Prophete: God hath wrought saluation in the middest of the Earthe. Lucretius, Lactantius, & Augustine, doe assent to this opinion, which so obstinately denied that there were no Antipodes, y is to saie, men, whose feete are againste ours. And they moreouer, which saie, that beyöde Europa, Asia, & Africa, is no other habitable world, y which thinges yet are otherwise knownen of vs, whiche come after them, by the nauigations of the Spaniards, and Portugales, whiche haue shewed also contrary to the trifles of the Poetes, and the false opinion of Aristotle, that all the Zone vnder the Zodiacke is inhabited. We haue beside these recited before emonge the Historiographers many other errors of the Geographers. But this Arte, whilst it endenoureth to teache vs the greatnesse of the Earthe, the depenesse of the Sea, the situation of the Ilandes, and all countries, the limites, and notable markes, and also the vnknowen beginning of innumerable nations, the rites, customes, & differences, we gette no other fruite thereof, but that whilst we ouer greedely searche out other mens matters, we learne not to knowe our selues. And as Au-
gustine

gustine saith in his confessions: Men goe to wonder at the highnesse of the Mountaines, the great surges of the Sea, and the broad runninge of the Riuer, the circuite of the Ocean sea, and the compasses of the Starres, & do forsake them selues. Plinie also saith, that it is a madnesse to measure the earthe, whiche while we measure, we very often go out of measure.

Of Architecture, or buildinge. Cap. 28.

There is no doubt, but that Architecture bringeth vs verie greate profite, and ornamente, bothe in publicke and priuate buildinges: this geueth vs Walls, Roofes, Milles, Charriotes, Bridges, Shippes, Churches, Temples, Oratories, Towne walls, Towers, and engines of all sortes, wherewith aswell the publicke as the priuate wealth of men is defended, and adourned, a discipline mozeouer very necessarie, and honest, if it did not so muche bewitch the mindes of men: in suche wise, that there is founde almoste none (so that abilitie faile him not) whiche dothe not desire to enlarge the roome of his houses with some newe thinge, beinge alreadie well builte. Whoso we whiche insatiable desire and studie of building, it is come to passe, that there is no measure nor ende appointed herein: for this cause are hilles cut away, Valleys filled vp, Mountaines made plaine, stoanes perced thoro we, and the rockes of the sea discovered, the entrilles of the earthe digged, the riuers turned from their course, seas toynd to seas, lakes consumed, marishes dried vp, armes of the sea barred out, the bottomes of the sea searched out, new Ilandes made, and againe other restored to the maine lande. All whiche thinges, and moze then these, albeit they repugne against nature, yet oftentimes haue broughte verie greate commoditie to all the worlde. But let vs compare suche thinges with these, whiche are nothinge available vnto men, but to beholde,

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A Mon-
struous pi-
cture of a
Beaste made
in stone.

and maruaile at, and as Plinie saith, are builde with very great expenses for an idle & foolish ostentatio of monie, as are the superstitious miracles of the workes of the Egyptians, of the Greekes, of the Tuscans, of the Babylonians, and of some other nations, the Laberinthes, the Piramides, the Obeliskes, the Colosses, the exceeding sumptuous sepulchres, the monstrous images of Raphinates, of Sesostris, and of Amasis, the marueilous Sphinx, wherein men beleued that kinge Amasis was buried. For it was wroughte (as Plinie saith, in naturall and reade stone: the compasse of the monsters heade aboute the foreheade was a hundzeth and two fete, and the lenght a hundzeth fourtie three fete. But there are greater thinges then these, the worke of Memnon, and Semiramis, in Bagasianus, a mountaine of Media, the image was huge & greate beinge two miles and halfe a quarter in lengthe. Whiche thinges notwithstandinge that cunnige builder, farre surpassed, what so euer he were, either Stefocrates as Plutarch telleth, or Dinocrates, as Vitruuius recompteth, who promised that he would make the image of Alexander out of the mountaine Athos, whiche shoulde haue in his hande a citie sufficient to receiue ten thousande men. Let vs number with these the high Tower of Babylon, whose foundation (as Herodotus testifieth) was on euerye side the eight parte of a mile, and that Tower whiche is reported to haue bene builde in the bottome of the sea vpon lattises of glasse. Like to these were also the houses of Gordian, the arches of triumphe, and the temples of the Goddes, and especiallie that of Diana at Ephesus whiche was in buildinge by all Asia, the space of two hundzeth yeares, and the temple of Latona in Egypte made with one stone, beinge fourtie cubites of lengthe in the fore front, and the same covered with one stone: and the golden image of Nabuchodonasar kinge of the Assyrians, beinge in greatenesse threescore cubites, the whiche, he that did not honour was put to death: and an other foure cubites

tabbes longe made of a greate Topasse by a Quene of Egypte. After this manner be the Churches builded to our sainctes with excedinge high rofes and steeles set vp maruellous highe, with a great number of stoanes heaped togeather, whilest muche godly monie and almesse is consumed and caste awaie, whereby many poore Christians the true temples, and images of God, whiche are like to die for hunger, thirste, colde, sicknesse, and penurie, mighte, and ought of very good righte be builded and sustained. On the other side, what great destruction doth this arte very oftentimes bringe vnto men, castles, engines of warre, gonnes, artillerie, brakes, and other instrumentes spoilinge men of their liues, and the people subdued by the sleight of them, are witnesses. Neither this is onely sene on the lande, for so muche as it hathe also taught to bulde Shippes, like castles, and fortresses: with whiche we do not so muche saile on, as inhabite the dangerous seas: and although by their nature, they do anoye vs with a thousande dangers, yet with these shippes we make them muche more dangerous, robbing and warrefairinge in them, no otherwise then we do in the maine lande. The firste that wrote of Architecture, was Agatarchus the Atheniane, afterwarde Democritus and Anaxagoras, nexte Silenus, Archimenides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Cato, Varro, Plinie, at the laste Vitruuius, Nigrigentus: of the frether sort Leo Baptista, Freer Lucas, and Albertus Durerus.

Of the Arte of findinge Mettals. Cap. 24.

If Architecture is also contained the Arte of Mettals, an Arte doubtlesse of greate witte. For firste it teachethe to know by the superficial or uppermost parte of the ground, & mountaines the veins, whiche are within the earthe, to what place they runne, the issues, the branches, and when the entrailes of the earth are digged, how the

the hugeness of the hills should be propped, and helde vp
of which things among the auncientes Strato Lampsa-
cenus hath written a booke, whiche he intituled of Mettal
instrumentes. Notwithstandinge either none, or very
fewe hither vnto haue perfectly taught the manner to
melte pure Mettalles with the cleare flames of the fiere
from stoanes digged out of mineries, and when they be
mired togeather, to knowe howe to parte them: perad-
uenture bicause this Arte, as an handie crafte, and scrull
occupation, is little esteemed of learned men, and noble
wittes. Neuerthelesse when I a fewe yeares past had
charge ouer certaine of the Emperours maiesties mine-
rals, hauinge searched out all things asmuche as was
possible for me, I began to write a speciall booke of them,
which yet I haue in my handes continually augmenting,
and correctinge it for the greater knowledge of things:
hopinge that I wil not omitte any thinge, that appertai-
neth to the findinge of Mettalles, to the knowledge of
them, to the tryng and vndoing of the veins, to the prop-
ping of mountaines, to instrumentes to digge, and other
skilles not knownen, vnto this daie. By this Arte, all
worldly wealth is maintained, for the greedinesse where-
of suche a fantasie came in mennes bzaines, that they go
euen vnto hel aliue, and with the greate decarie of nature
do search riches where damned soules do dwell: as Ouide
saith:

Men deape descende into the earthe
with mattocke, Shoule and Spade:

And wicked wealth is digged vp
which mischiefes al hath made.

Dame nature did it hide and put
where greelesse ghooftes do dwell:

And nowe the hurtfull yron, and
the glitteringe golde from hell

Proceeded is, more noisome then
th'other Mettal vile.

Through

Through foule desire whereof for aie
is vertue in exile.

Shame, Truthe, and Eaithe are put to flight,
theire place do these vpholde:

Bothe fraude, deceite, fell force, and wiles
and wicked loue of Golde.

And as an other Poete saith:

For Golde is faithe enforc'd to flee

The Lawes are solde for Golden fee.

Wherefore he that firste founde out golde mines, and o-
thers beins of Pettall, inuented a vengeable, mischei-
fous deede to our liue, and as Plinie saith, they haue made
the earthe so muche more hurtfull, that they be no lesse
vnaduised then they whiche go to searche pearles in the
bottome of the sea. The inuention hereof is attributed
to many, but the Historiographers differ one from an o-
ther. But yet the chiefeite wyte, that leade was firste
founde in the Ilandes lyinge ouer againste Spaine, called
Cassiterides: Brasse in Cyprus, Iron in Candie, but Golde
and Silver neare to Pangeus a mountaine of Thrace, fi-
nally they infected and corrupted all the worlde. The
Scythians alone, as Solinus recompteth, did condemne for
euer the vse of Golde and Silver, thereby withdrawing
themselves from common couetousnes. As touchinge the
superfluitie of Golde, it was in time paste prouided by an
auncient Lawe among the Romaines, and there was the
censours laue of Golde mines, by which (as Plinie saith)
it was forbidden in the Territoire of Versilia, that the
Farmars shoulde nat haue aboue fve men. And I would
to God, that men woulde applie themselves to heauenlie
thinges, as they do searche out the entrailes of the earth,
allured by the onely beine of riches: whiche cannot make
a man so happie and blessed, so that very many and that
not seldome do graeuously repente them of their besto-
wed labour.

The places
where
Leade,
Brasse,
Golde and
silver were
firste found.

Likely Astrologic cometh in place, whiche is also called Astronomic, altogether false, and fuller of trifling toys then the fables of Poetes: The teachers whereof are doubtlesse presumptuous, and authours of monstrous, & with wicked curiositie according to their pleasure do draw out vpon mans destinie (like the Heretikes Basilides) the Spheres of the Heauens, the measure of the Starres, the Mouinges, the Figures, the Images, the measures, and the agreementes, as men that haue lately descended from heauen, and haue bene conuersante for a space emonge them, by the whiche they beleue, that all things maie stande, be done, and knowen: yet cōcerning the same thinges there be emong them many disagreeing, contrarie, and hitherto at variaunce: so that I dare saye with Plinie, that the inconstauncie of this Arte dothe openly declare, that it is no Arte, for so muche as touching the principles thereof the Indians haue one opinion, the Chaldeans an other, the Egyptians an other, the Moores an other, the Iewes an other, the Arabians an other, the Greekes an other, the Latins an other, the auncientes an other, & the latter Writers an other. For Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Auerrois, and well neare all the Astrologers before Alphonsus excepting a fewe entreating of the number of Spheres, haue numbred but eighte. Notwithstandinge Auerrois, and Rabbi Isaac saie, that Hermes and some other Babylonians haue writen of a ninth Sphere, whiche opinion Azarcheles Maurus, Tebith, and the same learned man Rabbi Isaac, and Alpetragus do holde. With the whiche Albert the Dourche man doth agree, surnamed in his time, I knowe not for what notable Arte, y great, and al them that haue proued the mouinge of approaching and departing. The Astrologers in these dayes do accompte tene Spheres, which Alberte supposeth that Ptolomee did also allowe. Auerrois also supposed that he reckened

reckened nine Spheres, whereas in déede Ptolomee affirmeth nomore but eight. But Alphonsus sometime followinge the iudgemente of Rabbi Isaac, surnamed Baza, hath helde that there were nine Spheres. But foure yeares after the edition of his tables, he cleaued to the opinions of Albuhassein, of Azarcheles Maurus, and Albategnus, & chaunged his opinion appoyning eight Spheres. These Masters also, Rabbi Abraam Auenazra, and Rabbi Levi, and Rabbi Abraam Zacutus do coniecture, that there is no moueable Sphere aboue the eighte. But the Astrologers also do varie muche emonge themselues touching the mouing of the eight Spheare, & fixed Starres. For the Caldees and Egyptians do affirme, that it is moued onely after one manner, to whome doth Alpetragus accorde, and of the latter writers Alexander Aquilinus: but the other Astrologers from Hypparchus vnto oure time, say, y it is carried about with many mouings. The Iewes Thalmudistes do appoint a double mouinge: Azarcheles, Thebith, and Iohn of Monteregio, haue added to it the mouinge of the trepidation, whiche they cal of approaching and departing vpon little circles, about the heades of Aries and Libra: but herein disagreinge one from another in that Azarcheles saith, that the moueable heade cannot be distante from the fixed more then ten partes: & for this cause he holdeth opinion that the fixed Starres do lie towarde one certaine place of the worlde. But Tebith saith no more but foure partes, and welneare six minutes. Iohn of Regiomonte thinketh not aboue six partes, and therfore the fixed Starres do not lie alwaies towarde one certaine parte of the world: but do suppose that sometime retourne thither, from whence they began theire course. But Ptolomee, Albategnus, Rabbi Levi, Auenazra, Zacutus, and emonge the latter sorte Paule the Florentine, and Augustine Ritius my very friende in Italie, affirme that the Starres do alwaies and continually moue accordeinge to the succession of the Signes. But the

Lastly Astrologic cometh in place, whiche is also called Astronomie, altogether false, and fuller of trifling toys then the fables of Poetes: The teachers whereof are doubtlesse presumptuous, and authours of monstrous, & with wicked curiositie according to their pleasure do draw out vpon mans destinie (like the Heretikes Basilides) the Spheres of the Heauens, the measure of the Starres, the Mouinges, the Figures, the Images, the measures, and the agreementes, as men that haue lately descended from heauen, and haue bene conuersante for a space emonge them, by the whiche they beleue, that all things maie stande, be done, and knowen: yet concerning the same thinges there be emong them many disagreeing, contrarie, and hitherto at variaunce: so that I dare saye with Plinie, that the inconstauncie of this Arte dothe openly declare, that it is no Arte, for so muche as touching the principles thereof the Indians haue one opinion, the Chaldeans an other, the Egyptians an other, the Moores an other, the Iewes an other, the Arabians an other, the Greekes an other, the Latins an other, the auncientes an other, & the latter Writers an other. For Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Auerrois, and well neare all the Astrologers before Alphonsus excepting a fewe entreating of the number of Spheres, haue numbred but eighte. Notwithstandinge Auerrois, and Rabbi Isaac saie, that Hermes and some other Babylonians haue writen of a ninth Sphere, whiche opinion Azarcheles Maurus, Tebith, and the same learned man Rabbi Isaac, and Alpetragus do holde. With the whiche Albert the Dourche man doth agree, surnamed in his time, I knowe not for what notable Arte, y great, and al them that haue proued the mouinge of approaching and departing. The Astrologers in these dayes do accompte fene Spheres, which Alberte supposeth that Ptolomee did also allowe. Auerrois also supposed that he reckened

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Astrologers of the latter time do attribute a triple moving to the eight Sphere, one proper, which we have called the movinge of trepidation, which is once finished in seven thousande yeares, the other, which they call the movinge of compasse from the ninethe Spheare, whose revolution is not ended in lesse then fourtie nine yeares: the thirde from the tenth Spheare, which they terme the movinge of the firste moueable, or the violent movinge, or the diurnal moving, which in the space of one natural day, doth eftsoues return to his beginning. Furthermore they which haue assigned a double movinge to the eighte Spheare, do not al agree together. For wel neare al the writers in these daies, and they that allowe the moving of the trepidatiō, do argue that it is forcibly drawen fro y higher Spheare: but Albategnus, Albuhasen, Altraganus, Auerrois, Rabbi Leui, Abraam, Lacutus, and Augustine Ritius be of opinion that the diurnal moving which some woulde haue to be the violent moving doth not belonge to any Spheare, but is caused by the whole heauen. Auerrois also saith, that Ptolome in a certaine booke of his (whiche he entituled of Narrations) denied the movinge of compasse, and Rabbi Leui saith, that he and Auerrois of one opinion in that they vphelde the diurnal movinge to be caused of the whole heauen. They agree no better together about the measure of the moving of the eight Sphere & of the fixed Starres. For Ptolomee suppoeth that the fixed Starres doe moue a degree in a hundred yeares. Albategnus dothe maintaine that this is done in thre scoare and six Egyptian yeares, to whome Rabbi Leui, Rabbi Zacutus, and Alphonsus in the correction of his tables do agree: Azarcheles Maurus saith, that they moue a degree in lxxvj. yerres. Hipparch⁹ in lxxviii. Many of the Hebrewes, as Rabbi Iosua, Rabbi Moses, Maymonus, Rabbi Auenazra, and after them Haly Benrodam, in lxx. yeares, Iohn of Montereio in lxxx. Augustine Ritius keepeth a meane betwene the opinions of Albategnus, &
and

and the Hebrewes : supposinge that the fixed Starres do not moue one part of the heaue sooner then in lxxi. yerres, noz latter the in lxx. but Rabbi Abraam, & Zacutus mozeouer, as saithe Ritius, affirme accoordinge to the doctrine of the Indians, that there be also two Starres in the heauen directly opposit the one against the other, which contrary to the order of y^e signes do not end their course, but in Cxliij. yerres, Alpetragus also iudgeth that there be yet in y^e heauens diuers mouinges to men vnknowne: which if it be true, there maie be emonge theim also starres and bodiees, to whom these mouinges may accorde, the which men coulde not see either for the excēdinge highnesse, or untill this daie they haue not perceaued it with any obseruation of Arte, whereunto also dothe Fauorinus the Philosopher in Gellie agræ, in his Oracion againste the casters of natiuities. It resteth then that there is no Astronomer come downe from Heauen that hath benne able to teache the true, and certaine mouinge of the thinges that are thought not to moue. Neither hathe the true mouinge of Mars bene knowne untill this daie: whiche Iohn of Montereio dothe lamente, in a certaine Epistle or Letter to Blanchinus: and there was one VWilliam of Saint Clodoald, a famous Astrologer two hundzeth yeaeres passe and moze, who leste witten the erroure of this mouinge in his obseruations, & yet none after him hath corrected his doinges. And which is moze, it is impossible to finde out y^e true entringe of the Sunne into the Equinoctial poindes, the which Rabbi Leui proueth with many reasons. But what shall we speake of thinges founde after ward, how the Auncients haue ben deceaued aboute them. For many togeather with Tebith haue thought that the greate declination of the Sunne is continually changed, although not withstandinge it be caried with one measure. Otherwise yet Ptolomee hath thought thereof, otherwise it was founde by Albaten, Rabbi Leui, Auenazra, and Alphonfus. Semblablely al-

The cause
of the Mil-
kie Circle
or waie is
vnknown.
Whiche is
scene in a
starrie
night like
to a clowde
renninge in
length ouer
the Heauē.
Philoso-
phers are
yet at va-
riance
touchinge
the same.

so touchinge the mouinge of the Sunne, and measure of
the yeare, they haue other wise thought, then Ptolomee,
and Hipparchus haue taught. Likewise concerning the
highest pointe of the Sunnes mouinge, Ptolomee hath
other wise supposed, other wise also hath Albategnus & o-
thers denied. Moreover concerning y Images of the hea-
uens, & consideration of the fired starres, the Indians haue
taught one waie, the Egyptians an other, the Arabians
an other, Timotheus an other, Arfatilis an other, Hip-
parchus an other, Ptolomee an other, and the latter wri-
ters an other. I lette here to speake how muche they do
touchinge the righte & leaste beginninge of the heauen:
of which Thomas Aquinas, and Alberte the Dutcheman,
superstitious Diuines, whilest they endeuoured to vt-
ter some thinge orderly, coude not finde any thinge to
shewe, an none truely could euer finde it out. And more
ouer the Astrologers be yet ignorant what Galaxias is,
that is to saie, the Milkie circle. I let passe also to prolong
my talke of the Eccentrickes, Concentrickes, Epicycles,
Retrogadations, Trepidations, appoachinges, departinges
of the violent courses, and other mouinges, and circles
of mouinges, for so muche as all these thinges be not the
worke of God nor Nature, but monsters of the Mathe-
maticiens, and triflinge tromperies of sayning liers, de-
rined from corrupte Philosophie, and fabulous Poetes:
to the whiche yet as to true thinges created by God, or
stablished by nature, these Masters be not ashamed to
geue so much credite, that what thinges soener be donne
in these inferiour places, the same they attribute to these
trifles as their causes, and saie that these inuented mo-
uinges be the beginnes of all the inferioure mouinges.
Anaximenes his womā seruāt, did wittily reprove these
Astronomers with a preatie sayinge, shee was wonte
sometime to walke forth with her Maister, who when
on a night he wente out of his house to beholde y starres,
vnmindful of the situation of the place, whilest that he
beholdinge

beholdinge the Heauens, diligently searched out the
 starres, he fell into a ditch that was before his feete, then
 saide the woman seruaunt vnto him: I meruaile watter
 by what meanes thou thinkest to know the thinges that
 are in Heauen, sithe thou canst not see them that are be-
 fore thy feete. It is saide that Thales Milesius was with
 the like pleasaunt lesse repproued by Thressa his mayde.
 Tullie saith well neare the like of them: the Astrologers
 saith he, whilest they searche out the climates of the Hea-
 uen, none of them seeth, what is before their feete. I also
 being a boye learned this Arte of my Father, afterward
 I losse muche time and labour there in: at length I lear-
 ned that wholly and altogether it was built vpon no o-
 ther foundation but vpon meere trifles, and sayninges
 of imaginations: and I am not onely sorie, but also do
 repente me of my bestowed labour, and I desired to rase
 out the remembraunce and vse thereof, and it is longe
 since that I did renounce it, and would neuer haue taken
 the same in hande againe, had not the importunate pray-
 ers of noble parsonages (whiche are wonte oftentimes to
 abuse passinge good wittes in doinge many vnworthie
 actes) oftentimes enforced me oftentimes to take it in hand.
 And my peculiare profite perswaded me sometimes to a-
 uaille my selfe by their folie, and please them in their tri-
 fles, that so muche desired trifles, and I call them trifles,
 because that Astrologie hath nothinge els but meere tri-
 fles, poetes fables, & monstrous sayninges, with whiche
 they haue imagined that the Heauen is abundantly re-
 plenished. And there is no sorte of men, that more agree
 together, then Astrologers and Poetes, sauinge that
 they disagree amonge them selues touching Lucifer, that
 is to saie, the daie Starre, and Vesper, that is, the eue-
 ning Starre; for so muche as the Poetes affirme that in
 what daie so euer Lucifer appeareth before the Sunne ri-
 singe, in the same daie he cometh neare the Sunne, when
 he goeth downe, and well neare all Astrologers do denie
 that

that this may be donne in one daie, beside them which place Venus aboue Sol, because the Starres which be fardest of, seeme to vs that they sooner appeare in the rising, and latter hide them selues in the goinge downe. But, if I had not now remembred me, I should haue passed ouer this discorde of the Astrologers concerning the situation of the Starres, or Planetes: for it dothe not so much appertaine to Astrologers, as to Philosophers. For Plato placeth the seconde sphere of the Sunne after the Moone, thesame do the Egyptians placinge the Sunne betwene the Moone and Mercurie. Alchimenides and the Caldees, do place the Sunne the fourth in order. Anaximander Metrodorus Chius, and Crates saie, that the Sunne is settled highest of al, nexte to him the Moone, beneath these other moueable and fixed Starres: Xenocrates supposeth that all the Starres be moued in one selfe same vpper parte. They do no lesse differ touchinge the greatnesse and distaunce of the Sunne, the Moone, & other Starres, neither is there emonge them any constancie of opinion, nor veritie of celestiall thinges: & that no marueile, sithe that the Heauen it selfe which they diligently searche is mosse vnconstant of all, and full stozed with trifles and Fables: for the twelue Signes, and the other Northerly and Southerly figures, haue not ascended into Heauen but with Fables, and yet the Astrologers do liue, abuse men, and gaine by these fables, whilst the Poetes inuentours of them do leade their life in greate necessitie.

Of iudiciall Astrologie. Cap. 31.

There yet remaineth an other kinde of Astrologie, which is called Diuinatorie, or Iudiciall, the which entreateth of the revolutions of the yeares of the world, of natiuities, of questions, of elections, of intetes and thoughtes, it teacheth mozeouer to fore tell, to call backe, to auoide or flie the endes of all thinges that maie happen,

happen, and the secreete disposition of Gods prouidence. Therefore the Astrologers do buye the effectes of the heauens and starres of yeares that be very longe to come, or befoze times whereof there is scarce any memorie. or befoze Prometheus times, of the great coniunctions (as they saie) befoze the floudde: and do affirme that the effectes, the forces, and the mouinges of all liuinge creatures, stones, mettals, hearbes, and what thinges so euer be created in these inferiour places, do procede from the Heauens, and Starres, & do depende altogeaether vpon them, and maie by their means be founde out: Faithlesse men doubtlesse and no lesse wicked: not knowinge this one thinge, that God created hearbes, plantes, and trees, befoze he made the Heauens and the Starres. Moreouer all the grauest Philosophers, as Pythagoras, Democritus, Bion, Fauorinus, Panetius, Carneades, Possidonius, Timeus, Aristotle, Plato, Plotinus, Porphirius, Auicenna, Auerrois, Hippocrates, Galen, Alexander Aphrodiseus, & Cicero, Seneca, also Plutarch, & many other, which haue sought for the causes of thinges out of euery Arte & Science, neuer bid vs go to these causes of Astrologie: which although they were causes, notwithstandinge because they do not plainely perceauie the courses of the starres, and their forces, (whiche thinge is very plaine to al wise men) they cannot geue a certaine iudgement of their effectes. And there wante not emonge them, as Eudoxus, Archelaus, Cassandrus, Hoychilax, Halicarnasseus very skilfull Mathematiciens, and many other latter writers, and mosse graue Authours, whiche confesse that it is impossible to finde out any certaine thinge concerninge the knowledge of iudgementes, aswell for other innumerable causes, whiche worke togeaether with the heauen, whiche we ought to consider, and so willeth Ptolomee: as also because very many occasions do let the, as customes, vsages, education, honestie, rule, place, birth, bloudde, meate, libertie of the minde, and learninge, for so muche

They at-
tribute the
workes of
God to the
starres.

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as those influences doe not constrain (as they saie) but encline. Moreover they that haue written the rules of iudgementes, write so diuers and contrarie opinions vpon one thinge, that it is impossible for an Astrologian to pronounce any certaine thinge vpon so variable and disagreeinge opinions, excepte there be in him some inward perceivinge of thinges to come and hidden, and inspiration of foreknowledge, or rather a secrete & priue inspiration of the Diuine, whereby he may know how to geue iudgement in these thinges, or by some other meanes is inducd to cleaue nowe to this opinion, nowe to that: which instinction or inward motion who so wanteth, he in Astrologicall iudgementes (as Haly saith) cannot tell the truth: wherfore Astrologicall prophesie dothe not so muche consist in Arte, as in a certaine diffuse chaunce of thinges: and as by chaunce, not by Arte, the Verse dothe rise vp out of the Bookes of pastime, neuer tellinge the truth, so also out of the Astrologers minde doe prophesies proceede not by Arte, but by chaunce, which Ptolomee doth also witnesse, saying: The knowledge of the Starres dependeth of thee and them, meaninge that the foretellinge of thinges hidden and to come, dothe not so muche depende vpon the obseruation of the Starres, as the affections of the minde. Wherfore there is no certaintie in this Arte, but may be applied to al thinges accordinge to the opiniõ, which is gathered of coniectures, supposall, or of the vnperceauable inspiration of Deuiles, or of superstitious chaunce. Wherfore this Arte is nothing els but a false coniecture of superstitious parsons, which thozow long practise haue made a Science of thinges vncertaine, whereby they deceiue the simple sorte, to thende to spoile them of their monie, and they themselves are deceaued also. But if these mens Arte be true, and vnderstande by them, from whence cometh it, that so many errorrs be seene in their Prognostications: if not, doe thei not vainly, foolishly & wickedly, professe a knowledge of thinges that

A Cautell
for Astro-
logers.

that are not, or be not vnderstande: But the wareff of them speake but darkely of things to come, and with Artificiall subteltye do deuise doubtfull Prognostications, whiche maie be applied to euery thinge, Time, Prince, and Nation. But after that any of these thinges hath happened, then they gather the causes thereof: & so when the thinge is come to passe, thei fortifie the olde Prognostications with newe reasons, that they maie seeme to haue foresene, as the interpretours of dreames do, which seinge the dreame, vnderstande no certaine thing, but when any thing hath afterwarde hapned vnto them, then they applie the dreame to that whiche is chaunced. Furthermoze, seinge it is impossible in so greate a varietie of the Starres to finde out some placed in a good aspect, some in an ill, they take occasion hereupon to speake what they liste, and to whom they please thei promise life, saulstie, honours, wealth, power, victorie, health, childzen, friendes, mariages, benefices, offices, and suche like. But if to any they be not fauourable, to them they pronounce deathe, hanginge, dishonour, misery, exile, deathe of their parentes, sicknesse, and misfortune: not so muche of their wicked Arte, as of their naughty affections bringinge them to destruction that giue credite to this wicked curiositie, & oftentimes also moue the people and Princes to cruell warres and seditions. And if perchance fortune do agree with their Prognostications, that emonge so many doubtfull matters there shall some truthe or other fall out, it is a maruaile to see how they liste vp their combes, & how proudly they auunte thereof. And if they continually lye be once conuicted of a forgerie, then thei excuse it with blasphemie, or cloke one lie with an other: sayinge, that the wise man ruleth the Starres, whereas in dede, neither the Starres ruleth the wise man, nor the wise man the Starres, but God ruleth them bothe: or they saie, that the vnaptnesse of the receauer letteth the heauely influences.

Cornelius Agrippa

*Astrologers
hurtefull to
the Publike
weale.*

*Blacenomi-
nom.*

And they be displeased with them that seeke further credence: & neuerthelesse these flousteringe dissemblers finde out Princes, and Magistrates, which beleue all thinges that they speake, and entertaine them with common stipendes, whereas in dæde there is no kinde of men more pestilent to the publike wealth, then these: which by the starres, by lookinge in handes, by dreames, and such other skilles of diuination promise thinges to come, & spreade abroade Prognostications, men moreouer alwaies hatefull to Christe & to all them that beleue in him: of whom Cornelius Tacitus complaineth: the Mathematiciens, for so they are commonly called (saith he) a kinde of men disloyall to Princes, deceiuinge them that beleue them, are alwaies forbidde our Citie, but neuer bannished. Varro also a substanciall Authour testifieth, that the vanities of all superstitions flowed out of the bosome of Astrologie. There was a tribute in Alexandria, whiche the Astrologers did paie, called Blacenominon of their folie, because they gotte their liuinge by a wittie folie, and none but foolish & brainelesse persons wente to them for counsaile: and if mans life and fortune depende of the starres, why are we feareful: why be we careful: why doe we not leaue these thinges to God, and the Heauens, whiche cannot erre, nor doe euill: & for so much as we are men, we must not seeke to know any thing aboue our reach: but earthly thinges alone: and whiche is more, seinge we be Christians and beleue in Christe, let vs leaue the howers & minutes to God the father, who hath put them in his owne power. But if our life and fortune depende not of the starres, doth not euery Astrologer seeke where nothinge is to be founde: But mankinde is so false harted & light of belæse, that like children they feare more at the fables of Hobgoblin, and doe beleue more the thinges, that are not, then them whiche are, & the lesse impossible a thinge is, so much the more they stande in feare thereof: and the lesse vnlkely it is to be true, so much the more stedfastly they

they beleue it, and verely if suche were not, the Astrologers and Diuinours should die for hunger: and their foolish lighte beliefe forgettunge thinges passe, neglectinge thinges present, very hasty to knowe thinges to come doth so fauoure these abusers, that whereas in other men for makinge one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so muche mistrusted, that all the residue beinge true are not regarded: contrarywise in these Masters of sorceries, one veritie spoken by happe, giueth credite to their common lies: whiche truely who so doe moste beleue, become of all menne the moste vnhappy, as these superstitious trifles are wonte to bringe destruction to the professors thereof: whiche antiquitie testifieth in Zoroastes Pharo, Nabuchodonosar, Caesar, Crassus, Pompei, Diothar, Nero, and Iulianus Apostata, whiche as they were very muche enclined to these trifles, so did they moste miserablie dye thorough trustinge in them: and to whome the Astrologers haue promised all ioyefull thinges, all haue chaunced sorrowful: as to Pompei, Crassus, and Caesar, to whome they promised, that none of them shoulde dye excepte he were and olde man, excepte he were in his house, and except he were in honour, but yet euery one of them died an euill death, and before the tyme. An obstinate doubtlesse and preposterous kinde of men, whiche bragge that they are able to prognosticate thinges to come, and knowe not them that be passed, and present: and whereas they profess themselves to tel al men al the most secrete thinges, very often they be ignorant what is done in their owne house, and in their chamber: suche a kinde of Astrologer Sir Thomas Moore reproveth in this pretty Epigramme.

To thee thou airie Prophet all
the Starres themselves do showe:
And do declare what destinies,
all men shall haue bylowe.
But no Starres (though they all thinges see)
admonish thee of this:

R. III.

That

Cornelius Agrippa

That thy wife doth with erie man,
behaue her selfe amisse.

Saturnus standes, farre of men saie,
that he longe since was blinde:

And scarcely could decerne a childe,
and from a stoane him finde.

Faire *Luna* goes with shamefast eye,
a Virgine naught wil see:

But suche thinges as be seeme a maide,
and lightnes al wil flee.

Ioue to *Europa* gaue his harte,
to *Mars* did *Venus* cleue:

And *Mars* againe did *Venus* serue,
to *Daphne*, *Sol* did geeue

His loue, and *Mercurie* did call
to minde his *Hirce* deare:

Hereof it comes to passe, o thou
vnwise *Astrologere*.

That when thy wife delited is,
with lusty younkers loue:

Thereof do nothinge notific,
to thee the starres aboue.

Furthermore it is well knowne to all men, howe muche
the Iewes, Chaldees, Egyptians, Persians, Greekes, and A-
rabians, do disagree emonge themselues of the very same
rules of iudgements and in what maner Ptolomee doth
renounce al the Astrologie of the auncientes, and as he
defendeth Auenrodan, so he prouoketh Albumasar, and a-
gainste all these dothe Abraam Auenazre the Hebrewe
raile: finally Dorotheus, Paulus Alexandrinus, Ephestion,
Maternus, Aomar, Tebith, Alchindus, Zazel, Messahalla,
and well neare all other hold diuers opinions, and when
they cannot proue that true whiche they speake, they de-
fende it with the onely reason of proufe: nor do all agree
with one consente thereupon: and do no lesse differ tou-
chinge the propriete of the houses, out of which they get
the

the foretelling of what so euer shal happen: whiche Ptolomee both appointe after one sorte, Heliodorus after another, Paulus after another, Manlius after another, Maternus after another, Porphyrie after another, Albenragel after another, the Egyptians after another sorte, the Arabians, the Greekes, and the Latines after another, the aunciente, after another, the latter wryters after another. Because they be not yet resolved among themselves how they ought to erecte the beginninges and the endes of the houses, for so much as the auncientes make them after one manner, Ptolomee after another, Campanus after another, Iohn of Montereio after another. Whereof it cometh to passe, that they in their owne observations do abate their credit, ascribinge diuers properties, beginninges and endes to the same places: a wicked generation of men, which attribute the thinges that belonge to God, vnto the Starres, and make vs when wee were childerne, seruantes of the Starres, and whereas we knowe that God hath created all thinges, they teache that there be certaine malicious Starres, the causes of mischiefes, and naughty influences, ordaining not without exceedinge greate iniurie of God in the heauens, that in the heauenly places, in that diuine Senate, mischiefes, and ribaldries, are determined to be done, and what so euer willingly we commit what so euer thorow the corruption of matter dothe naturally befall, they attribute it wholly to the Starres. Moreover they are not ashamed to teache Heresies & very damnable vntruthes, that is to saye, whilest they with a wicked rashnesse do confesse the gifte of prophetic, the force of religion, the secretes of conscience, the power ouer diuels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacie of praiers, and the state of the lyfe to come dothe onely depende vpon the Starres, is giuen by them, and knowne by them. For they saie, that when the signe of Gemini is ascendent, and that Saturne and Mercurie be ioyned in Aquarie, in the ninthe house of the Heauens,

Heauens, that there is a Prophete borne, and therefore had Chriſte our Lorde ſo many vertues, becauſe he had in that place Saturne in Gemini. They do diſtribute alſo the ſortes of religions, to y^e which they make Iupiter a ſpecial patrone, by the commixtion of other Sarres: ſo, that Iupiter with Saturne maketh the religion of the Iewes with Mars of the Caldees, with the ſonne of the Egyptians, with Venus of the Sarraſins, with Mercurie of the Chriſtians, with the Moone that religion of Antichriſt to come: and that Moſes by reaſons of Aſtrologie did inſtitute the Sabbath daie of the Iewes, and that therefore the Chriſtians haue erred, who accordinge to the cuſtome of the Iewes do not kepe holy the Sabbath day, abſtaining from labour, ſeing that is the day of Saturne. They beleue alſo that the fidelitie of euery man may be knowne aſwell to man as God, and profeſſed religion, and the ſecretes of conſcience of the part of Sol and of the thirde, ninth, and twelfth houſe of the Heauens, and to knowe alſo the thoughtes, and as they ſaie, the intentes of men. Many geue many rules, and do appointe the configurations of y^e heavenly bodies as cauſes of theſe miraculous workes of the deuine prouidence, as that is, of y^e vniuerſal floud, of the Lawe giuen by Moſes, and the deliuerance of the Virgin, and ſo forth: ſhe do babble that the death of Chriſte redemer of mankind was the worke of Mars. And alſo that Chriſte himſelfe did uſe the election of howers in his miracles, in whiche the Iewes coulde not hurte him, whyleſte he wente to Jeruſalem: and therefore that he ſaide, when his diſciples did forbide him. Is it not twelue of the clocke? They ſaie moreouer, that if any ſhall haue Mars happly placed in the ninth houſe of the heauens, that he ſhall haue power to driue awaye Deuils with his onely preſence from them that be poſſeſſed; and he that ſhall praie to God, when he findeth the Moone and Iupiter ioyned with the Dragons heade in the middeſt of the heauen: that he ſhall obtaine, what ſo euer he aſke: and that

Iupiter

Jupiter and Saturne dothe glue blessednesse of the life to come. But if any in his natiuitie shal haue Saturne happily placed in Leo, his soule after this mortall life, free from innumerable troubles, enclined to God, shall returne to heauen, and to his originall beginninge. And notwithstanding to these accursed trifles, & moste damnable opinions not without infamie of Heresie haue subscribed Peter of Appona, Roger Bacon, Guido, Bonatus, Arnolde of Villa noua Philosophers, the Cardinal of Alia a diuine, and many other Doctors of christian name, and do presume to witnesse, and maintaine that they haue proued these thinges to be true. Iohn Pico of Mirandola hath a few yerres past written against Astrologers with so great abundaunce, that scarcely he hath let passe one argument, and so effectually, that vntil this daye not Lucius Balantius an earnest defendoure of Astrologie, nor any other maintainoure of this Arte hath benne hable to defende it from the reasons alleaged by Pico. For he proueth with very stronge argumentes, that it was not the inuention of men but of the deuils of hell, the very whiche also Firmianus auoucheth, whereby they haue endenoured and gonne aboute to cancel and abolishe all Philosophie, phisicke, the Lawes, and Religion. For firste it taketh faithe from Religion, it diminisheth miracles, it denieth prouidence: whilst that it teacheth all thinges to happen thorough the force of constellations, and to depende vpon the Starres with a fatall necessitie: Furthermore it maintaineth vices, excusing them as though they did descende vpon vs from aboue: it doth empaire and sabuerte al good Artes especially Philosophie, bringinge the causes of things from true reasons vnto fables, afterward chaunge, Phisicke from natural and effectual remedies into vaine obseruations, and damnable superstitions & deadely bothe to the soule and bodie. Moreouer altogether treading vnder foote the lawes, the customes, and every Arte of mannes wisdom, for so muche as of Astrologie alone

D counsaile

counsaile is asked, at what time with what consideration, and by what meanes any thinge shoulde be donne, and the alone beareth rule ouer life, customes, ouer common & priuate affaires, as if it had authoritie ouer all thinges from heauen, and al other thinges that did not acknowledge this for patronesse were thought vaine. A passinge Arte no doubt, which in times past deuils did professe to deceaue menne, and to do iniurie to the diuinitie.ouer and besides this also the Heresie of the Manichees, which altogether denieth and taketh awaye the libertie of free will hath had his beginnunge from no where els, then of the false opinion and doctrine of the Astrologers concerning destinie. Out of the same fountaine did the Heresie of Basilides sprunge, who saide, that there were three hundredeth three scoare and five heauens made together by succession and likenesse, and the shewing of these to be the number of daies of the yeare, assigninge to euery of them certaine beginninges, vertues, and Angels and deuising names for them: & the chiefest of al to be Abraxas whiche worde in Greeke containeth in it CCCXV. as many truely as there be places of the heauens found out and inuented by him. We haue writen this bicause ye maye vnderstande, that Astrologie is also the mother of Heretickes. And as the most famous Philophers do hisse at this diuininge Astrologie, so Moses, Isaie, Iob, Ieremie and other Prophetes of the Olde Testamente, and Augustine amonge the Catholike Doctoures thinketh good that it be put out of Christian Religion. Basile & Cyprian do laugh at it, Chrysostome, Eusebius, and Lactantius do disproue it, Gregorie, Ambrose, and Seuerianus do inueigh against it. The counsaile held at Toledo doth forbidde and cōdemne it: it was excommunicated also in the counsaile of Martine and by Gregorie, Iohn, & Alexander the thirde Pope of Rome, and punished by the Ciuil Lawes of Emperoures. Amonge the Aunciente Romaines, when Tiberius, Vitellius, Dioclesian, Constantine, Gratiane, Valentiniane,

tiniane, and Theodosius were Emperours it was forbidden the Cittie of Rome, bannished and punished: and by Iustinian also condemned vnder payne of beheadinge, whiche thinge maie be seene in his Code.

Of Diuinations or Forciudgements in general. Cap. 32.

This place putteth me in minde also to speake of other Artes of Diuination: whiche do not so muche prophetic and pronosticate by the obseruation of heauenly as earthly thinges hauinge a certaine shadowe and imitation of heauenly thinges: to the end that when ye haue vnderstode them, ye may the better knowe this Astrologiall tree, whiche bringeth forth the like fruite: and out of whom is spronge a monster with many heades, as it were Hercules Hyder slaine by him in Lerna. Emonge those gaineful Artes of Diuination, be reckened Physiognomie, Metapsopie, Chiromancie, Geomancie, (whereof we haue also spoken before) Augurations, Speculatories, the interpretation of dreames, and the Oracles of mad men. But yet al these skilles haue no sound doctrine, nor are grounded vpon any one certaine reason, but searche out hidden thinges either by aduenturous chaunce, or by the mouinge of the minde, or by certaine apparaunt conjectures, whiche be taken of dayly obseruations, and of a longe time, for all these monstrouse Artes of Diuination are wonte to defende themselves with nothinge els, but with the title of experience, and to ridde themselves out of the snares of objections, as often as they teache and promise any thinge exceeding the truthe, and contrarie to reason: of al whiche in this manner it is commanded in the lawe: let there be founde none emonge you, that doth purge his sonne, leadinge him thorow the fire: nor asketh counsaile of soothsaiers, or els obserueth dreames and Diuinations by birds: neither let him be a witch, nor inchauntour: because the Lord doth abhorre these things.

Physiognomie therefore following the nature of these Artes as guide (as shee saith) doth presume that shee is able to finde out with probable signes, by beewing of the whole bodie, the dispositions of the minde & body, what mans fortune is, according to that she pronounceth this man a Saturniste, or Iouialist, that man a Martialiste, or Solist, an other, a Venercan, a Mercurialist, or Lunist, & by the forme and state of the bodie doth finde out their ascendentes passinge by little and little (as they saue) from the effecte to Astrological causes, by the which she afterwarde dalieth vpon whatsoeuer shee listeth.

Metoposcopic also doth auunte that she can foretel al mens beginninges, proceedinges, and endinges with a very sharpe wit, and learned experience, by the onely beholding of the foreheade: she naming herselfe also a nourished member of Astrologie.

Chiromancie dothe facion in the palme of the hande seuen mountaines, accordinge to the number of the planetes: and suppoeth that shee is able to knowe, by the lines, which be there seene, what complexion a man is of, his dispositions, his life, and fortune, by a certayne harmonickall agreement of the lines, as by certaine celestial markes imprinted in vs there by God and nature, which God, as Iob writeth, hath set in mens handes, that thereby every man may knowe his woorkes: although in deede the diuine Prophete spake not in that place of the Vanitie of Chiromancie, but of the libertie of Freewil. Moreover the foresaid diuinours do defende themselves, that

that although they cannot geue iudgements of the dispositions or inclinations by the causes of thinges, yet by signes printed by them, or the like causes, which alwayes are semblable in that same thinges, and like to like: and they saye that Pythagoras vsed in time past these Artes, who gaue iudgement of the customes, natures, and the wittes of younge menne by the face and countenaunce, and proportion of all the bodye: and whome he iudged apte and sufficiente, him he tooke to be his Scholler. Philostrates writeth that Pharaotes Kinge of India, was accustomed to do the like: Notwithstandinge it is not needefull for vs to strue againste the Erroure of this Arte with anye other reason then this, to wæte that they haue not in them anye reason. Yet be rye manye of the Auncientes exceedinge graue menne haue writen of these thinges, Hermes, Alchindus, Pythagoras, Pharaotes the Indian, Zopirus, Helenus, Ptolomee, Aristotle, Alphorabius, besides these Galene, Auicenna, Rasis, Iulian, Maternus, Loxius, Philemon, Palemon, Constantine, Africane, and finally of the Romane Princes, Lucius Scilla, and Caesar dictatoure were very studious thereof. Of the latter sorte Peter of Appona, Albert the Dutcheman, Michaell Scotte, Antiochus, Bartholmewe Cocles, Michaell Sauonarola, Anthonie Cermison, Peter of Arca, Andrewe Corue, Tricassus of Mantua, Iohn of Indago, and many other famous Philistians: notwithstandinge they al can shewe nothing, beside coniectures, and obseruations of experience: and that in these coniectures, and obseruations there is founde no rule of truth, hereof it maie be sene, because they are voluntarie saynings, and vpon whom the very teachers of them, men equall in learninge and authoritie do not agree. Wherefore they do greatly dote & are deceaued, whiche by these signes, without the complexion of the bodye and dispositions of nature, will foretell also the very conditions, and affections of Fortune, and the minde: whiche thinge

Cornelius Agrippa

is sufficiently proued in Zopirus iudgement of Socrates.
Neither lette that cause you beleue, whiche Appion the
Grammariā leste witten of a certaine man called A-
lexander, who did so passingly depaunte the likenesses of
Images, that by them the Metoposcoper hath tolde the
yeares of death passe or to come, whiche thinge is not so
muche incredible as impossible, that it maie be knowen
by these Artes: but this trifle sellinge kinde of menne is
wonte in suche wise to dote, thozowe the perswasion of
the Deuill of Hell, that they drawe them out of erreure
into superstition, and from this by little and little into
infidelitie.

Againe of Geomancie. Cap. 36.

All they whiche write hereof doe affirme that Geo-
mancie is the doughter of Astrologie, whereof we
haue spoken in Arithmeticke, whiche castinge cer-
taine pointes made by chaunce, or by a certaine force, of
the whiche by certaine equall and vnequall numbers:
facioneth certaine figures attributed to the heavenly
signes, by whiche they Diuine. There is also an other
kinde of Geomancie, whiche Almadal the Arabian intro-
duced and brought in, the which doth diuine by certaine
confectures taken of similitudes of the crakinge of the
Earthe, of the mouinge, cleauinge, swellinge, either of
it selfe, or els of inflammation & heate, or of thundringes,
that happen, the whiche also is grounded vpon vaine su-
perstition of Astrologie, as that which obserueth howers,
the newe Moones, the risinge and forme of the starres.

Of Aruspicie which is a kinde of soothsaying. Cap. 37.

AVgurie, whereof there be many kindes, is an Arte
that in times passe was greatly obserued, and so
muche esteemed, that they did not, without the coun-
saile

faile of the Augures or soothsayers, accomplishe any thinge, whiche appertained to publike or priuate affaires. This Arte, as Pomponius Letus writeth, is very auncient, it came from the Caldees to the Greekes, among whom Amphireus, Tiresias, Mopsus, Amphilotus, & Calcas were accompted good Augures or soothsayers, from the Greekes to the Tuscans, from them to the Latines, and Romulus himselfe was an Augure, & ordained that Magistrates should be established with Auguries, and Dionysius saith that the Arte of Auguringe was also muche set by of the people Aborigines, and that Ascanius asked counsaile of the Augures before he wente into the fielde against Mezentius, whiche when he sawe prosperous, he fought, and vanquished. Finally the Phrigians, the Pisidians, the Cilicians, the Arabians, the Umbrians, the Tuscans, and many other nations followed Auguries. The Lacedemonians also assigned an Augure to sitte with their Kinges in iudgement, and to be present at comon counsailes. The Romans had a colledge of Augures: and they whiche did purchase credite to this Arte, were they that taught, that certaine lightes of diuination did descende from the heauenly bodies vpon all these inferiour liuinge thinges, as certaine signes and tokens placed in their mouinge, standinge, gesture, goinge, flying, voice, meate, colour, worke, and ende, naturally ingendred in them as it were by a certaine hidden force, and secrete consent & do in such sort agree with the heauenly bodies by whose force they be moued, that they can after foretell all these thinges, what soeuer the Heauenly bodies haue intended to do. Whereby it appeareth, that this diuination is grounded vpon nothinge but coniectures, taken partely, as they saie from the influences of the sterres, partly from some parabolical similitudes, then the which there is nothinge more deceitfull: wherefore Panetius, Carneades, Cicero, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antipater, Iosephus, and Philo do dispise it, and the lawes, & the Church

doe

do condemne it: and such like be the mysteries of the Caldees, of the Egyptians, which in time past the Tuscans, afterwarde the Romans, and yet at this daie the superstitious common sorte of men doth reuerence as wordes proceedinge out of Gods owne mouth.

Of Speculatorie. Cap. 38.

Out of the same fundation cometh Speculatorie, which doth enterprize, thunder, lightning, & other impressions of the Elementes, moreouer monstrous and straunge sightes seldome seene: yet with no other waie then by conjecture, and similitude, which verily there is no doubt, but that it dothe very much erre, because all these be naturall workes, & not prognosticall.

Of the interpretation of Dreames. Cap. 39.

Onirocritica, which is the interpretation of dreames cometh with the other, the interpreters whereof properly be called coniectours, as Euripides saith: He that doth not coniecte amisse, a perfect Prophete compted is.

To the which cunning also the great Philosophers gaue some authoritē, especially Democritus, Aristotle, and his disciple Themistius, and Sinelius the Platonian in such wise groundinge themselves vpon these examples of dreames, whiche some chaunce hath made true, that for that cause they endeavour to perswade that nothinge is dreamed of in vaine: For they saie, that as the heauenly influences do bring forth diuers formes in corporal matter, so of the same influences, visions and dreames are printed in the fantastickall power, which is instrumental, with a celestiaall disposition meete to bringe forth some effecte, and chiefly in sleepe, because the minde then free from bodily & outwarde cares, maye more freely receaue the

the

the heauenly influences, whereby many things are knowen to them that sleepe in dreames, which they that wake cannot see. They endenoure therefore especially by this meane to winne true credite to these dreames. Yet concerninge the causes of dreames aswell inwarde as outwarde, all doe not agree in one opinion, for the Platonians doe attribute them to the fourmes, and engendred knowledges of the soule. Auicenna to the laste intelligence, that moueth the Moone, by y^e meanes of that light, wherewith mens fantasies are lightned, when they are a sleepe: Aristotle doth ascribe it to the common sense, but fantastickall. Auerrois to the imaginative: Democritus to the likenesses separated from the things: Alberte to the influence of the superiour bodies, so that there come certaine formes betwene, which continually flowe downewarde from heauen: the Physitians referre these to vapours, and humours: some to the affections, & thoughtes of watchinge: some Arabians to the power of vnderstandinge: some saie that it dependeth vpon the powers of the minde, and the influence of the heauen, and images and proportions of things togeather: the Astrologers woulde haue them caused of their constellations: others attribute their causes to the ayre, that compasseth & perceith. Furthermore Baldian and Arthemidore haue written of the interpretation of dreames, and some Bookes are caried aboute vnder the name of Abraham, whome Philo in the booke of Giannes, and ciuill life affirmeth to haue firste founde out the interpretation of dreames, and others vnder the name of Salomon, and Daniell deuised for this purpose, in whiche there is nothinge but mere dreames written of dreames. But Marcus Tullius in his Bookes of diuinations with very stronge reasons, whiche I will not reckon by in this place, dothe dispute againste the vanitie and folie of them, that geue credite to dreames.

Controuer-
sies touch-
ynge the
causes of
dreames.

Cornelius Agrippa

Of Furie. Cap. 40.

But (which I had almost passed ouer) let vs also reckē
amonge these dreamers, them that geue credite of
diuinitie to the prophecies of madde men, and do
beleue that they, whiche haue loste the knowledge of
thinges presente, and the remembraunce of them that be
paste, and all mans reason, haue attained to the diuine
fozeknowledge of thinges to come, and that whiche wise
and wakinge men cannot see, madde men and them that
are a sleepe see: as if God should be nērer to them, then to
wise men, and them that see, that vnderstande, and that
consider befoze hande: Miserable doubtlesse be the men,
that beleue these vanities, and obaie these deceites, that
feede suche like Artificers, and make their wittes and
faith subiecte to their bellie. But what els shoulde we
thinke furie to be, then an altering of mans minde bered
by the Deuilles of Hell, or by the Starres, or by the in-
feriour instrumentes drawen by vncleane Sprites: the
which Lucane seemeth to haue expessed in this manner,
when he bringeth in the Tuscan prophete Aruus:

VVell learned in the lightninge leames,
and in warme vaines the waie

He dothe well know, and flighte of birdes
that in the ayre doo straie.

After that the Citie of Rome was purged, after the
beaste was slaine for sacrifice, & after the entrailles were
viewed, at the lengthe a potter vttered his opinion in
these wordes:

VVhat kinde of mischiefē o ye Gods.
what plague do ye ordaine:

The latter daies of many men
shall ende on blouddie baine.

If noysome starre of Saturne should,
enkindle blackish fire:

In Heauen aboue, with drowninge floudes
should Aquarie full dire.

Haue

Haue filde the earth, and coured should
haue ben with Seas the same:

If *Sol* in cruell *Leo* were
the worlde with fire flame

Should burne on erie parte, and eke
the aire enflamed mighte

Haue with his Charrots ben ibrent.

These cease to do their spighte
But thou that doest incense, and feare
with hote and flaminge taile

The *Scorpion* fierce, and * *Cleies* also,
why doest thou seeke t'assaile

Vs *Mars*? for milde *Ioue* lowe doth stande,
where as the Sunne dothe sette:

And with him *Venus* holosome starre
in good aspect hath mette.

* *Cylen* in mouinge swifte stands neare
also to gentle *Ioue*:

And *Mars* alone the Heauen hath
and other Signes aboue.

Forfaken haue their wonted waie,
and goe aboute the skie:

As not esteemed starres, and eke
Orion maie yee spie

V Vith shininge swoorde girt to his side,
greate rage of Armes is neare:

And dinte of sworde shall put to flight
all righte and aweful feare:

Vice vertue shall accompted be
and bide shall many yeare.

Then al these skilles of diuination are rooted & grounded
vpon *Astrologie*. For whether the bodie, face, handes,
be viewed, whether dreame, moster, or *Augurie* be scene,
or furie hath inspired, they will that a figure of the Hea-
uen be erected, by whose declaration, together with con-
fectures of similitudes & figures, thei goe aboute to searche

* That is,
the fore-
parte of the
signe Scor-
pio.

* That is,
Mercurie.

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out the meaninge of the significatours: and thus do all diuinations require the Arte and vse of Astrologie, and confesse, that it is as a keye necessarie to the knowledge of all secretes. Wherefore all these Artes of diuination do openly shewe themselues, how much they differ from the truth: because they vse so manifestly false principles, and faigned of a Poeticall rashnes: which although they are not, nor haue benne, nor shall be at any time: yet they would haue them to be causes and signes of thinges whiche are, attributinge to them the endes of thinges against the truthe.

Of Magicke in generall. Cap. 41.

This place also requireth, that we speake of Magick: because it is so ioygned and like to Astrologie, that he whiche professeth Magicke without Astrologie, doth nothinge, but wander out of the waie: Suidas suppoeth, that Magicke toke name and beginninge of the Magusei. The common opinion is, that this is a Persian worde, whereunto Porphirie and Apulei do assente, and that in their language it signifieth a Priest, a wise man, and a Philosopher. Magicke then comprehendinge all Philosophie, Naturall and Mathematicall, doth ioygne also to them the forces of Religions. For this cause also it containeth Geocie and Theurgie. Wherefore manye haue deuided Magicke into manner of wayes; that is naturall and ceremoniall.

Of Naturall magicke. Cap. 42.

Men thinke that naturall magicke is nothinge els, but a singular power of naturall knowledges which therfore they cal the greatest profoundnesse of natural Philosophie, and absolutest perfection therof, & sheweth what is the active parte of natural philosophie, which

whiche with the aide of naturall vertues, accordinge to the mutuall and conuenient applyinge of them, dothe publishe woꝝkes excēdinge all the capacitie of admiration: the whiche Magicke was muche vsed of the Egyptians, and of the Indians where there was abundance of hearbes, of stōnes and other thinges thereunto belonginge. They saie that Hierome made mention thereof, writinge to Paulinus, where he saith, that Apollonius Tianeus was a Magitian or a Philosopher, as the Pithagoreans were. And y^e the Magitians were of this sorte which wente to woꝝship Christ when he was boꝝne visitinge him with giftes, whiche the interpretours of the Gospell doe expounde the philosophers of the Caldees, such as were Hiarchus among the Brachmans, Thespion amonge the Gymnosophistes, Buda amonge the Babylonians, Numa Pompilius amonge the Romaines, Zamolxides amonge the Thracians, Abbaris among the Hyperboreans, Hermes amonge the Egyptians, Zoroastes sonne of Oromasus among the Persians. For the Indians, Ethiopians, Caldeans, and Persians were very excellent in this Magicke: wherein, as Plato saith in Alcibiades, the sonnes of the Persian Kinges were instructed, that they mighte learne to rule and gouerne their common weale to the similitude of the worldes common weale: and Cicero in his booke of Diuination saith, that the Persians made no Kinge, whiche had not firste learned Magicke. Naturall Magicke then is that, whiche hauing intently behelde the forces of all natural thinges, and celestially, and with curious searche sought out their order, doth in suche sorte publish abroad the hidden and secret powers of nature: couplinge the inferiour thinges with the qualities of the superiour at it were certaine enticementes by a naturall ioyninge of them togeather, that thereof oftentimes doe arise marueilous miracles: not so much by Arte as nature whereunto this Arte dothe proffer her selfe a seruaunte, when she woꝝketh these thinges. For the Magitians, as

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very diligent searchers of nature, bringinge the thinges which be prepared by nature, applying and setting active thinges to passive, very ostentiaies befoze the time by nature appointed do bring forth effectes, which of the common sorte be accompted miracles: wheras for al that they be but natural woꝝkes: nothinge els comming betwene but the foꝛetakinge of time: as if a man in the moneth of Marche woulde cause Roses to spring, and ripe Grapes, Beanes sowne, or Persely within fewe houres to growe into a perfect plante, and greater thinges then these, as Cloudes, Raine, Thunder, Beastes of diuers sortes, and infinite transformations of thinges, of whiche kinde Roger Bacon doth boaste that he hath done many with pure and natural Magicke. Of the woꝝkes therof haue wꝛiten Zoroastes, Hermes, Euantes King of the Arabians, Zacharie the Babylonian, Ioseph the Hebrew, Bocus, Aaron, Zenotenus, Kirannides, Almadal, Thetel, Alchindus, Abel, Ptolomee, Geber, Zahel, Nazabarub. Tebith, Berith, Salomon, Astrophon, Hypparchus, Alcmeon, Apollonius, Triphon, and many others of whome somme woꝝkes be yet perfecte, and many fragmentes be yet extante, and sometime came to my handes. But of the latter wꝛiters fewe haue wꝛiten in naturall Magicke, and they fewe thinges: as Alberte, Arnolde of Villanoua, Raymonde Lullie, Bacon, Apponus, and the Authoure of the booke to Alphonfus published vnder the name of Picatrix, whiche notwithstandinge entermedleth much superstition with natural Magicke, whiche others haue done also.

Of Mathematical Magicke. Cap. 43.

There be mozeouer other very prudente and aduenturous searchers of nature, whiche, without natural vertues, with Mathematical disciplines alone, the influences of the heauens beinge put thereto, do promise that they are able to bringe forth the thinges like to the

the woorkes of nature, as bodieſ that go & ſpeake, whiche for al that haue not the vertues of the ſoule: as the wooden done of Architas was, which ſlewe, and the image of Mercurie that ſpake, and the Braſen heade forged by Albert the great, which as it is ſaide did ſpeake. Boetius did excel in theſe thinges, a man of a paſſing profounde wit, and diuers learninge: to whome Caſſiodorus writinge of theſe thinges, ſaith: Thou art determined to knowe difficulte matters, and to ſhewe miracles: with the paſſinge ſkill of thy Arte mettalles do belowe, Diomedes bloweth alowde in Braſſe, the Braſen Serpente hiſſeth, birdes be counterfaiſed, and they that haue no proper voice be hard to utter ſweetneſſe of ſonge: we ſpeake ſeuere thinges of him, which coulde counterfait the heauen. I ſuppoſe that is ſpoken of theſe ſkilles, whiche Plato ſaith in the 11. Booke of his Lawes: menne haue an Arte, whereby they brought forth the certaine latter thinges, not partakinge of the veritie, & diuinitie, but made certaine ſemblaunces muche like to themſelues: and the Magicians very preſumptuous parſons haue gone ſo farre to do all thinges, eſpecially with the fauoure of that auncient and terrible Serpent the promiſer of ſciences, that like to him, as Apes they endeuoure to counterfaite God and nature.

Of VVitchinge Magicke.

Cap. 44.

There is another kinde of naturall Magicke which is termed, VVitchinge or Medicinall which is done with pociſons, charmed drinckes for loue, and diuers poiſoninge medicins ſuche a one as Democritus is reade to haue made, whereby happy and fortunate childerne maye be begotten, and an other whereby we maie well vnderſtand the voices of birdes, as Philoſtratus and Porphyrius do recompte of Apollonius. Virgill alſo ſpeakinge of certayne herbes of Pontus, ſayde:

VVith

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VWith these, o Merim, haue I seene,
ofte times a man to haue:
The feareful shape af wilde wolfe, and
him selfe in woodes do saue.
Ofte times the ghastly ghostes to leaue,
theire deape graues grown with grasse:
And I haue seene the sowne seede.
to place from place to passe.

*Men trans-
formed
into beasts.*

Daniel. 4.

Exod. 1.

And Plinie saith, that one Demarchus Parrhasius in a sacrifice of mans bodie, whiche the Arcadians offered to Iupiter Liceus, tasted the inwardes of a sacrificed childe & was turned into a Wolfe, for the whiche transformation of men into Wolfes, Augustine thinketh that Pan was called with an other name Liceus, and Iupiter Liceus. The same Augustine doth recompt, that when he was in Italie, certaine women witches, like Circes: when they had geuen inchaunementes in chæse to straungers they trāsformed them into horses, and other beastes of cartage and when they had caried the burdens, that they listed, againe they turned them into men: and that this chaūced at that time to one Father Prestantius. But bicause any maye not thinke that these be dotages, and thinges impossible, let him remember that which the holy scriptures do declare, That the Kinge Nabuchodonosar was transformed into an Ore, and liued seuen yeres with heye, at length thzough the mercie of God became a man againe, whose body after his death, Euilmoradath his sonne gaue to the rauens to be deuoured, lest at any time he might rise from death, who of a beaste became eftsones a man. And Exodus sheweth many thinges of this sorte, of Pharoes InchaunTERS. But yet of these Magitians or InchaunTERS the Wise man speaketh, when he saith: Thou haste hated them O God, because with inchaun- mentes they did horrible workes. Furthermore I will haue you vnderstād this, that the Magitians do not onely searche out naturall thinges, but them also, whiche ac-
companie

companie nature, and after a sorte do spoyle her, as are the mouinges, numbers, figures, soundes, voices, tunes, lightes, affections of the mind and wordes. Thus did the Psilies, and the Marfies call Serpentes, other chased them away: in this wise did Orpheus with a hymne asswage the stormie tempest of the Argonautes Iasons companions: and Homer saithe that Vlysses bloude was stented with wordes: & in the lawe of the twelue tables a paine was appointed for them, that had inchaunted corne: so that it is no doubt, that Magitians alone also with wordes and affections, and other lyke thinges oftentimes do bringe forth the some marueilous effect not onely in themselues, but also in straunge thinges: all whiche operations they suppose to spreadde adroade vpon other thinges the force engrafted in them and to drawe these vnto them, or to put these from them, or to giue them vertue by some other meanes, as the lode stoane draweth Iron, and amber strawes, or as the Diamante and Carlike take away the vertue of the lode stoane: and so by this orderly and linked composition of thinges Iamblichus, Proculus, and Sinesius, accordinge to the opinion of the Magitians doe confirme that not onely the naturall and celestiall giftes but the intellectuall and heauenly also maie be receaued from aboue: the whiche Proculus confesseth in the booke of Sacrifice, and Magicke, to witte, that by suche consent of thinges Magitians were wonte to binde sprites. For some of them are fallen into so greate a madnesse, that they beleue, that with diuers constellations of Starres rightly obserued by distaunce of time, and with a certain order of proportions, by the consent of heauenly sprites, an image made maie receaue the sprite of life, and vnderstandinge, whereby he giueth answere to them that wil demaunde any thing, and reueleth the secretes of hidden verity. Hereby it is manifest, that this naturall Magicke sometimes enclineth to Geocie, and Theurgie, oftentimes it is entangled in the craftes & errors of y devils of hell.

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Of Geocie and Necromancie. Cap. 45.

The partes of ceremoniall Magicke be Geocie, and Theurgie. Geocie is grounded vpon the entercours of wicked sprites made with the rites of detestable curiositie, with vnlesful coniurations, and with defensible prayers, bannished & accursed by the decrees of all lawes. Of this kinde be they, whiche at this date we call Necromancers and Enchaunters.

A people hatefull to the Lorde,
well f kilde to staine the skie,

V Which naught by nature be, and eke
they can the thinges on hie

Subuerte, as Starres and powers of thinges
which firme and stable are.

For they knowe howe to staie the poles
and flashinge flames sende farre,

They driue the aire downe vnder earthe
and mountaines rente and marre.

These then be they whiche doe inuocate deade mennes soules, and they whiche the ancientes termed Epodi, that inchaunted childerne, and caused them to speake oracles, and whiche beare about counsaylinge or helpinge sprites as we reade of Socrates, and they whiche (as it is sayde) do feede sprites in glasses, by whom they auunte to prophesie. And all these do procede in two manner of wayes. For some do endeuoure to coniure, and binde the deuill of hell especially coniured with a certaine vertue of the names of God: and truely seing that every creature doth feare and reuerence the name of his maker, it is no maruaile if the Geocians, & they also that be infidelles, Pagans, Jewes, Sarrafins, and men of every wicked selowship and secte, do binde Sprites with the inuocation of the name of God. Some other very horrible men whiche of a detestable wickednesse, and worthy to be punished with fire, submitinge themselves to Sprites do Sacrifice to them
and

and worſhippe them and hereby they be made Idolaters & culpable of a very vile flattery, yet do they offer themſelues to manifeſte daungers. For the devils alſo beinge constrained do alwaies lye in waite to the ende that they maye deceiue vs goinge aſtraye. Out of the ſecte of theſe Geocians came all the bookes of darkenes, which Vlpiane the Lawier calleth the bookes of damnable readinge, and doth ordaine that ſomewith they ſhould be rēt in pēces. Suche as one Zabulus is ſaide to haue firſt deuised giuen and enclined to forbidden artes, afterwarde one Barnabas of Cypers, and at this daye alſo there are bookes caried aboute with fayned titles vnder the names of Adam, Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Salamon, of Paule alſo, of Honorius, of Cypriane, of Alberte, of Thomas, of Hierome, and of one of ~~Porte~~: Whose trifles ſolightly haue folowed Alphonſus Kinge of Caſtile, Robert of Englande, Bacon, and Apponus, and many other men of a wicked witte. Furthermoze they haue not onely made men, the Sainctes, the Patriarkes, and the Angelles of God authours of ſo deteſtable doctrine, but ſhewe alſo the bookes wrytten by Raziol, and Raphael, by the Angels of Adam and Tobie, which bookes yet do openly declare to him that doth ſubtely conſider the order of theſe preceptes, the vſage of their ceremonies, their kinde of wordes and charracters. their order of conſtruction, their ſolightly phraſe, to containe nothinge els but mere trifles, and falſet, and to be made in theſe latter times by menne ignoraunte in aunciente Magicke, moſte damnable artificers of damnation, of certayne wicked obſervations enterlaced and grafted in the ceremonies of religion, with many vnknowen names and ſignes, to the ende to feare rude and ſimple men, and to engender maruaile in ſoules and in them, which knowe not good letters. It doth not therefore yet manifeſtly appeare, that theſe artes be fables: for excepte they were in deede and by means of them many maruetlous & noiſome thinges might be done, the Diuine and humaine Lawes

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Women desirous of secretes.

The cause why certaine popish ceremonies were invented.

woulde not so straightely haue commaunded that they shoulde be bannished from amonge men. And why these Geocians do onely serue the Deuilles of hell, this is the reason, bicause good Angels do hardly appeare, for they do abide lookinge for Gods commaundement, and do accompanie with them onely whiche are cleane in hart and holy in life, but the wicked shewe themselves readye to inuocate, falsely fauouringe, and counterfaiting the Diuinitie all wayes ready to deceiue men with their subtiltie, to be reuerenced, to be honoured, and bicause Women be more desirous of secretes and lesse aduised, and enclined to superstitions and be more easily begiled, and do great miracles, as the Poetes speake of Circes, of Medea, and others, Cicero, Plinie, Seneca, Augustine and many other as well Philosophers as Catholicke Doctoures, and Histoziographers, and the holy Scripture also dothe testifie. For wee reade in the Bookes of the Kinges, that Phitonissa a woman, which was in Endor raised the soule of Samuel the Prophete although many doe interpret that it was not the soule of the Prophete, but a wicked sprite, which tooke his image. Notwithstanding the Masters of the Hebrewes saie, the whiche thinges also Augustine writtinge the Simplician denieth not that it maye be donne, that it was the very sprite of Samuell, whiche coulde easily be recaled befoze one yeare were passe after his departure from the body as the Negromancers affirme. But which is more the Negromantical Magiciens be of opinton that this maie be done by certaine naturall forces and bondes, as we intreat in our Bookes of hidden Philosophie. And therefore the auncient Fathers skilled in spirituall thinges not without a cause haue ordayned that deade mens bodies should be buried in a holy place, and shoulde be accompanied with lightes, sprinkled with holy water, perfumed with incense, & purged with prayers, as long as they were aboue y earth: For as the Masters of the Hebrewes saie, all our body and carnal creature

ture, what so euer is grounded in vs vpon fleashely matier, is lefte to the Serpente for meate, and as they terme him Azazel, whiche is lorde of fleshe and bloude, and Prince of this worlde, & is called in Leuiticus Prince of the deserte, to whome it was saide in Genesis, thou shalt eate earth all the daies of thy life. And in Isaie: thy breade shall be duste, that is to saie, our bodie created of duste of the earth: duringe the time it shall not be sanctified, and chaunged into a better state, that it is no lenger the Serpentes, but is made Gods, that is to witte, spirituall of carnall, accoordinge to the wordes of Paule, who saith: Let that be sown whiche is of the soule, and that shall arise whiche is spirituall. And in an other place. All truely shall arise, but all shall not be chaunged, because many shall remaine for a perpetuall meate to the serpent. We therefore laie aside this brutishe and horrible matier of the fleshe, and in death doe leaue it as a meate for the Serpentes, to receaue the same againe beyng chaunged into a spirituall and better state and condition, whiche shall be in the resurrectiō of the dead. And is alreadie come to passe in them, whiche haue tasted the firste frutes of the resurrection: and many haue attained the same in this life, by the vertue of the deified sprite, Enoch, Helias, and Moses, whose bodies beinge chaunged into the spirituall nature haue not seene corruption, neither as other car-kaises be lefte in the power of the Serpente. And this is that contention of the Diuell with Michaell concerning the bodis of Moses: whereof Iude maketh mention in his Epistle: but wee haue sufficiently spoken of Geocie, and Necromancie.

Of Theurgie. Cap. 46.

MAny thinke that Theurgie is not prohibited, as who saith it were gouerned by good Angels, and by the diuine power, whereas yet oftentimes
D. iij
vnder

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Under the name of God, & the Angels it is bounde with wicked deceites of the Diuels, for not onely with naturall forces, but with certaine solemnities & ceremonies also, we winne and drawe vnto vs heauenly thinges, and thoroowe them the diuine vertues, of the whiche the auncient Magitians hauing made volumes doo with many rules entreate. The greatestt parte of all ceremonies consisteth in keepinge cleanelinesse, firste of the minde, afterwarde of the bodie, and of the things which are about the bodie, as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in vessels, in houtholde stufte, in oblations, in sacrifices, whose cleannesse doth dispose men to the custome and earnest beholdinge of the heauenly thinges, and is greatly required in holy thinges, accordinge to the wordes of Isaie: Washe yout selves and be cleane, and forsake your naustie thoughtes. But vncleannesse, whiche oftentimes corrupteth the ayre and infecteth man, doth disturbe that most pure influence of heauenly and diuine thinges, and chaseth awaie the cleane spirites of God. Notwithstandinge sometimes the vncleane spirites & the decauinge powers doo require also this cleannesse that they may be worshipped and adored for Goddes, & therfore we ought here to be very circumspecte, whereof largely we haue spoken in our bookes of hidden Philosophie. But Porphirie, who doth muche dispute of this Theurgie or Magicke of thinges deuine doth finally conclude, that with Theurgicall consecrations mans minde maie be made apte to receaue Sprites and Angels, and to see the Goddes, but that by this Arte there may any man come to God, he altogether denieth it. Of this schole are the Arte of Almadel, the Arte Potarie, the Arte of Paule, the Arte of reuelations, and many other thinges of like superstitions, which be so much the more damnable, as they appeare to the ignorant more diuine.

The wordes of Plinie doe here come to my remembrance, whome saith, there is another kinde of Magicke, whiche the Jewes saie that they receaued of Moses, and Latopca, the whiche wordes putte me in minde of the Cabala of the Jewes, whiche the Jewes doe constantly beleue that God him self gaue to Moses in the mounte Sina, and afterwarde was taught with the liuely voice alone by degrees of succession without writinge, euen vntill Esdras time, as in time paste Archippus & Li-
fiades, whiche kepte schoole at Thebs a Citie of Greece, taught the doctrines of Pythagoras, wherein the schollers bearing in minde their Maisters preceptes, did vse witte and memorie in steede of booke, in like manner also some of the Jewes refusinge letters haue placed this in memorie, obseruation, and teachinge by mouthe, wherefore the Hebrewes call it Cabala, as it were, a thing receaued by the onely hearinge of one from another. The Arte (as it is saide) is very auncient, but the name is but of late knowne amonge Christians. They saie that it hath a double knowledge, the one of Breth, the whiche is also called Cosmologia, that is to saie, that whiche declareth the forces of thinges created, naturall, and celestial, and whiche expoundeth with Philosophicall reasons the secretes of the lawe and Bible, whiche truely for this respecte differeth nothinge from naturall Magicke, where in wee beleue that Kinge Salomon was verie excellent: For it is reade in the holy Histories of the Hebrewes that he was wonte to dispute from the Ceder of Libanus, euen vnto Hissoppe, and of beastes also, birdes, creeping creatures, and fishes, al whiche thinges can shewe some Magickall force of Nature. Moses the Egyptian also amonge them of latter yeares in his expositions vpon the five booke, and many Thalmudistes haue followed this. The other knowledge of Cabala they call Demarcana, whiche

is as it were a certaine Symbolicall diuinitie of the highest contemplation of the diuine and Angelicke vertue of holy names, and signes, wherein the letters numbers, figures, thinges and names, and the prickcs ouer the letters, the lines, the pointes, and the accentcs, do al signifie very profounde thinges, and great secretes. This againe they diuide in two partes into Arithmantia, that is to witte, that whiche is called Notoriacon, whiche en- treateth of the Angelicke vertue, of the Names, Signes, also of the conditions of spirites & soules, & into Theo- mantia, whiche searheth out y misteries of the diuine ma- iestie, the deriuations, the holy names, the pentacles, whiche he that well vnderstandeth they saie that he hath marueilouse vertues, so that when he pleaseth, he know- eth the thinges to come, he hath a'l nature at commaun- dement, he hath power ouer Deuils & Angels, and dothe miracles. With this they suppose that Moses wrought so many miracles, that he turned a rodde into a Serpente, & water into bloude, that he sente Frogges, Flies, Lice, Locustes, fire with haile, plagues & sickenesse: that he cau- sed to die all the firste begotten bothe of man and beaste, and leadinge his people to haue opened the Sea, that he made water springe out of a rocke, and quailcs to come from Heauen, that he sweetened sower waters, that he sente befoze his people in the daie lightninge, & clowdes, and in the night a pillar of fire, that he caused the people to heare the voice of the liuinge God from Heauen, that he chastised the arrogant with fire, and them that mur- mured with the Lepre, that he punished the wicked with a sodaine slaughter, and caused other to be swallowed with the earth, that he fedde the people with the heauen- ly lode, that he appeased the Serpentes, that he cured them that were poysoned, that he preserved an infinite number from sickenesse, and their garmentes from cor- ruption, and made his people conquerours ouer his ene- mies. The Hebrewes saie mozeouer, that with this Arte

of miracles Iosua commaunded the sunne to stande. Elias caused fire to fall from heauen vpon his enimies, and restored to life a dead childe: Daniel bounde faste the Lions mouthes, the three childezen did singe Psalmes in a burninge fornaie. Moreouer the traiterouse Jewes do also affirme that Chryste by this Arte did oftentimes wonderfull thinges. And that Salomon was very wel learned in this Science, and thereby wrote an Arte againste Deuiles, shewinge the manner to binde them, & coniure them, and charmes also againste diseases, as Iosephus testifieth: But as I doubt not that God hath reueled to Moses and other of the Prophetes, many misteries not to be disclosed to the ignorant people, whiche were couered vnder the barke of the wordes of y^e Lawe: so I know that this Arte Cabala, whereof the Hebrewes do so much boast, & I with great labour haue in times paste searched out, to be nothing els but a mer: agreement of superstition and a certaine Theurgicall Magicke, but if, (as the Jewes do boast) it proceeded fro God it should auaille to the perfection of life, to the saluation of men, to the honour of God, to the vnderstandinge of the truth: verely that spirite of truthe, whiche forsakinge the Sinagog cometh to teache vs all truthe, shoulde not haue hidden it from his Church euen vntill these latter times, which truly hath knowen al thinges, which be of God, the blessing wherof, the Baptisme, and other signes of saluation are reueled, and perfect in euery tongue. For euery tonge hath a like and equal vertue, so that there be a like and equal pietie, neither is there any other name in Heauen, nor in Earth wherein we ought to be saued, and wherein we maye worke well, besides the onely name of Iesus, in whome all thinges be summed and contained. For this cause the Jewes very well skilled in the names of God can worke little or nothinge after Chryste, as their auncient Fathers were wonte. But that whiche we proue and see, oftentimes maruellous sentences of greate misteries to

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be taken out of the holy Scriptures, with the reuolutions (as they saie) of this Arte, al this is nothinge els, but a certaine spozte of Allegozies; the whiche idle men busied in letters, pointes, and numbers, which this tongue and manner of wittinge dothe easily suffer, accordinge to theire pleasure do forge and reforge, whiche although sometimes they signifie great misteries, yet they can not proue, nor shewe any thinge, but that accordinge to the wordes of Gregorie, we maie despise them with the same facilitie, wherewith they be affirmed. Rabanus a Monke hath fained many thinges with the like skill, but in Latine letters and verses, diuers images beinge put in amongest them, the whiche reade on euery side by all the proportions of the superficiall parte, and Images do declare some holy mysterie representinge the Historie there painted, whiche thinges also that they maie be drawen out of prophane writings noman is ignorant, whiche hath reade the chosen Verses of Valeria Proba concerninge Christe, gathered out of the Verses of Virgil: all whiche thinges be the studies of idle men. But as touching the workinge of miracles, I thinke not that any of you is in suche wise berefte of his witte, that beleueth that any Arte or Science maie be had of these. Therefore this Iewishe Cabala is nothinge els but a certaine moste pestilent superstition, wherewith at theire wil they do gather, deuide, and transpose the wordes, names, and letters dispersed in the Scripture, and makinge one of an other do vnbinde the members of the truthe, making here and there of theire owne deuisinge, communications, inductions, and parables: they will applie to them the wordes of God, defaminge the Scriptures, and sayinge that theire feigned matters be forged out of them, they do maliciously inuey against the Lawe of God, and assaie to bringe in violent, and blasphemouse proues of their traisterouse dealing, thorow reckonings of words, syllables, letters, and numbers, & numbers impudently wrested.

wrested. Furthermore beinge puffed vp with these trifles they auant that they are able to finde out, & knowe the unspeakeable mysteries of God, & the secretes which are aboue the Scripture, by the whiche also they are not ashamed without blushing to Prophecie, and to worke vertues and miracles, and with greate boldenesse to lie. But it fareth with them as with Esopes dogge, whiche lettinge his bread fall, and gapinge at the shadow therof, losse his meate: so this disloyall and stiffnecked generation of men, alwaies occupied in the shadowes of the Scripture, and with their artificiall, but superstitious Cabala runnunge with great randon aboute these vanities, doth lose the breade of euerlasting life, and of truthe fedde with vaine wordes doth lose the wordes of truth. From this Jewishe heape of Cabalisticke superstition proceeded (I suppose) the Ophites, the Gnostickes, and Valentinian Heretickes, the which also with their Disciples haue inuented a certaine Graekishe Cabala, turninge topsie downe all the misteries of the Christian faith, and with Hereticall wickednesse drawynge them to Graeke letters and numbers, doe make of them a bodie, whiche they call, of truthe, shewing that without these misteries of letters and numbers, the truthe in the Gospel cannot be founde out, because it is so diuers, and in some places contrarie to it selfe, and writen ful of parables, that they whiche see it doe not see, and they whiche heare it doe not heare, & they whiche vnderstande it doe not vnderstande, but to be sette befoze the blinde and the ignorant, accordinge to the capacitie of their blindnesse, and errour: and that the pure veritie hidden vnder it is belened of the perfect sorte alone, not by writinge, but by a successiue pronuntiation of a liuely voice, and that this is that Alphabetarie, and Arithmantical diuinitie, whiche Christe secretely shewed to his Apostles: and whiche Paule saith that he speaketh but amongst perfect men. For whereas these be very high misteries, they haue not therefore ben

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written, nor are written, but are pzeuely searched out by wise men, whiche secretely kaepe them in theire mindes. And emonge them none is accompted wise, but he which can forge very great monsters of Hereſie.

Of Iuglinge. Cap. 48.

But let vs retourne to Magicke, wherof the Iuglers skill is a parte also, that is, illusions, which are onely done accordinge to the outwarde apparance: with these the Magitiens doe shewe vaine visions, and with Iuglinge castes doe plaie many miracles, & cause dreams, which thinge is not so much done by Geotically inchaun- mentes, and praiers, and deceites of the Deuill, as also with certaine vapours of perfumes, lightes, medicines, colleries, bindinges, & hangings, mozeouer with ringes, images, glasses, & other like receites and instruments of Magicke, and with a natural and celestial vertue. There are many thinges done also, with a readie subteltye and nimblenesse of the handes, as wee dayly see stage players and Iuglers doe, whiche for that cause we terme Chiro- sopheri, that is to saie, hande wise. There are booke extant of the delusions or iuglinges of Hermes touchinge this skill, and of certaine others: we haue reade also that one Pafetes a Iugler was wonte to shewe to straungers a very sumptuous banquet, & when it pleased him to cause it vanishe awaye, all they whiche sate at the table beinge disapointed both of meate & drinke. We reade also that Numa Pompilius vsed suche like Iuglinges. Pea and that the passinge learned Pythagoras did oftentimes vse this pastime, that he wrote with bloude in a glasse suche thinges as he thought meete, whiche when it was tur- ned directly againste the newe Moone, shewed to them whiche stood behinde him thinges written in the cir- cle of the Moone. Hereunto belongeth also whatsoever is reade in Poetes concerninge the transfor- mation of men

A running
Iuglar.

Pythagoras
vsed Iug-
linge.

men beleued of the Histoziographers, and affirmed also of some Christian deuines, & of the holy Scriptures too. In this wise do men appeare Asles, Horses or beastes or ther to enchaunted eyes, and that with a naturall Arte. Sometime also these things are done by god & il sprites, either at the prayers of good men from God, as we reade in the holy scriptures of Elizeus the Prophete beinge besieged by the host of the King of Syria trenching Dotham aboute. But these things cannot deceaue the eyes whiche be pure and opened by God: so that a woman, which of the common people was iudged a beaste, seemed to Hilary no beast, but a woman as she was: such things then, which in this sorte are donne accordinge to the outward apparauce be called delusions or iuglinges, but of such things as be wrought by the Arte of them, which do chaunge and transforme, as of Nabuchodonosor, and of corne transported from one fielde into an other, we haue spoken befoze: but of this Arte of delusions or iuglinges Iamblicus speaketh in this wise: The things, which the deluded and bewitched personnes do imagine, haue no truthe of action and beinge, saue onely things imagined. For the ende of this skill is not to do simply, but to stretche out imaginations euen vnto apperaunce, of whiche there shall afterwarde no signe appeare. By these things then whiche are alreadye spoken, it is euident, that Magicke is nothinge els, but a containinge of Idolatrie, Astrologie, and superstitious Phisicke. Of the Magitiens also is spronge in the Church a greate route of Heretickes, whiche as Iannes and Mambres haue rebelled against Moses, so they haue resisted the Apostolike truthe: the chiefe of these was Simon the Samaritane, who for this Arte had an image erected at Rome in the time of Claudius Caesar with this inscription, to Simon the holy God. His blasphemies be writen at large by Clemente, Eusebius, and Irenæus. Out of this Simon as out of a seede plotte of all Heresies haue proceeded by many successions:

the monstrous Ophites, the filthy Gnostickes, the wicked Valentinians, the Cerdonians, the Marcionistes, the Montanians, and many other Heretikes, for gayne and payne glory speakinge lyes againste God, auaylinge noz profitinge men, but deceiuinge, and bringinge them to ruine and destruction, and they whiche beloeue in them shalbe confounded in Goddes iudgemente. I being also a yonge man wrote of Magicall matters thre bookes in a sufficient large volume, which I haue entituled of hidden Philosophie, in whiche bookes whatsoener was then done amisse thorough curious youth, now beinge more aduised I wil that it be recanted with this retraction, for I haue in times past consumed very much time and substance in these vanities. At the length I gotte this profit thereby, that I knowe by what meanes I shoulde discourage and dissuade others from this destruction. For all they that presume to diuine and prophesie not in the truthe, not in the vertue of God, but in the elusion of deuils, according to the operation of wicked sprites, and exercisinge deceits of Idolatrie, and shewinge illusions and payne visions, the whiche sodainely ceasinge, they auunt that they can worke miracles, by Magicall vanities, exorcismes, incantiments, drinckes of loue Agogimes, and other diuinish workes, al these with Iamnes and Mambres and Simon Magus shalbe condemned to the paynes of euerlastinge fire.

Of naturall Philosophie. Cap. 49.

But it is now more then time to go to further matters, and to trace out the opinions of Philosophie, the thinges whiche searche nature, and the sciences, whiche with subtill illogismes seeke out the beginnings and endes of thinges. Whiche truely no man knoweth what other certaintie they haue besides the credite of theire teachers. The Poetes firste professed this, of the
which

which they say that Prometheus, Linus, Musæus, Orpheus and Homer were the firste inuentours. What truth can then Philosophie giue vnto vs, sithe it toke beginninges of the trifles and fables of Poetes: the whiche Plutarke proueth to be true with manifeste declarations, to witte, that al the sectes of Philosophers had their beginnunge of Homer, and Aristotle himselfe confesseth that naturally Philosophers are studious of fables. Some doe diuide the Philosophers into nine, some into ten sectes, but Varro hath diuided them in a farre greater number. But if any will assemble togeather all the Philosophers, neuerthelesse it cannot be knowne emonge them, which ought to be called the better secte, and to whose opinions wee shoulde rather obey: they doe so muche strue and disagree emong themselves in all thinges, and doe maintaine this perpetuall strife, from age to age: and as Firmiane saith, one secte will subuerste an other, that shee maye establish herselfe and her doctrines, neither any doth graunt that the other hath the knoweledge, lest that shee confesse that shee is ignorant. And although Philosophie disputeth and iudgeth of all thinges, yet shee is certaine of nothinge: wherefore I knowe not whether I shoulde accompte Philosophers emonge beastes, or emonge men: they seeme to surmount brutish beastes because they haue reason and vnderstandinge: but how shali they be accompted menne, whose reason cannot perswade no constant and certaine thinge, but doth alwayes wauer in mutable opinions, whose vnderstanding doubtful at euery matter knoweth not what it shoulde holde or folowe, and that this is true we will nowe at large declare.

Of the Principles of natural thinges. Cap. 50.

There is a very greuous battaile fought emong the grauest Philosophers concerninge the Principles of naturall thinges whereupon all this science is groun-

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grounded, and yet the matter is before the iudge, they
allege perswadinge and inuincible reasons of contra-
ries, whiche of them hath spoken beste. For Thales Mi-
lelius iudged the firste wise man by the Oracles of Apol-
lo, woulde, that all thinges shoulde be made of water.
Anaximander his auditour and successoure in the schole,
sayde, that the beginninges of thinges be infinite: Ana-
ximenes his scholler affirmed that, the ayre was an infi-
nite beginnunge of thinges: Hypparchus, and Heraclitus
Ephecius, the fiere: to these after a sorte dw Archelaus the
Atheniane, and Anaxagoras the Clafomeniane agre, that
the beginninges were infinite as it were certayne small
and confused partes, but afterwarde set in order by the
will of God. Xenophanes saide that one was all thinges,
and the same not moueable: Parmenides, hotte and colde,
as the fiere which moueth, and the earth which facioneth:
Leucippus, Diodorus, and Democritus, the full and the
empty. Diogenes the free sayd, that it was the aire, which
hath yet in it the diuine reason. Pythagoras the Samiane,
woulde that number should be the beginning of thinges
vnto whome agreth Alcmeon Crotoniates. Empedocles
the Agrigentine, strife, frendship, and the soure elements:
Epicurus the beames of the sonne, and the emptie: Plato
and Socrates, God, the forme conceiued in the minde, and
the matiere. Zeuo, God, the matiere, and the Elements,
Aristotle, the matiere to the appetite of the forme by pri-
uation, whiche he placeth the thirde emonge the begin-
ninges, contrarie to that whiche he hath taught in an
other place that wordes of diuers significations shoulde
not be reckened, wherefore some Peripatetikes of latter
time, in place of priuation haue set a certaine mouinge,
that gathereth bothe together, which sith it is accident,
howe shal it be the beginning of substance: or who shal
be the mouer of that mouing: therefore the Philosophers
of the Hebrewes haue determined that matiere, forme,
and life are the beginninge of thinges.

Of the number of worldes, and howe longe
they shal endure. Cap. 51.

These Philosophers also doe neuerthelesse disagree from themselves when they dispute of the worlde: Thales sayde, that there was but one worlde, and the same to be made by God: Empedocles in like manner one, but that it was onely a small parcell of the whole. Democritus and Epicurus helde the contrarie that there were infinite worldes, whome Metrodorus their scholler folowed sayeing, that there are innumerable worldes because the causes of them be without number, and that it is no lesse folie to saye that in the vniuersall is but one worlde alone, no other wise the one eare of corne to grow in a filde. Aristotle, Auerrois, Cicero, and Xenophanes say that it is euerlastinge, and that it shal neuer sustaine corruption. For seing that they cannot perceiue (as Censorinus saith) whether the egge or the birde be firste engendred, seinge that it is not possible that an egge should be layde without a birde, and a birde begotten without an egge: for this cause they haue beleued that this worlde, and the beginninge and ende of euerpe begotten thinge was euerlastinge with a perpetual reuolution. Pythagoras and the Stoickes haue sayd that it was made by God, and that sometimes as much as is of his nature shalbe consumed: to the whiche Anaxagoras, Thales, Hierocles, Auicenna, Algazel, Alcmeus, Philo the Hebrewe doe consent, but Plato affirmeth, that it was wrought by God according to his owne example, & neuer to haue end. Epicurus holdeth the contrarie, that it shall vtterly be destroyed. Democritus teacheth that the worlde was once made, and shal once be destroyed, and neuer be repaired againe. Empedocles and Heraclytus the Ephesiane affirme that the worlde not once but alwaies is made and destroyed. But let vs entreate a little of an other particuler thing, which they saie dothe specially proceede of some naturall cause,

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*The opini-
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touchinge
the earth-
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as of the earthquake, they cannot yet agré in findinge it out, but wandering thorow many thinges, Anaxagoras hath sayde that the aire is the cause thereof, Empedocles the fiere, Democritus and Thales Milesius the water: Aristotle, Theophraste, and Alberte the winde or vapour vnder the earthe: Asclepiades chaunce or ruine. Possidonius, Metrodorus, and Calisthenes the Ladies of destinie. Seneca and others beinge diuided into diuers opinions haue in vaine searched out the cause of that effecte: therefoze the ancient Romans when they perceiued or worde was brought them that the earth quaked, they commaunded holy daies to be kept but they published not for what God they shoulde be obserued: bicause it was then vncertaine by what force or by what God the earth quaked.

Of the Soule. Cap. 52.

*The opinio
of the Phi-
losophers
touchinge
the soule.*

But if we wil vnderstande of them anye thinge touching the Soule, they do muche lesse agré: For Crates the Thebame saith that there is no soule, but that the bodies be so moued by nature. But they whiche haue confessed the soule, many of them haue thought it to be a very subtil body spreade in this grosse body, but some of them haue sayde it to be firy as Hipparchus and Leucippus, with whiche after a sorte the Stoickes do agré, saieinge that the soule is a very hotte sprite, and Democritus saithe that it is a moueable and firy spirite put betwene the Atome, that is, vndiuisible parts. Other haue sayde that it is the ayre, as Anaximes and Anaxagoras, Diogenes the Cinick, and Critias, to whome Varro doth assente sayeing: the soule is the ayre receiued into the mouth boyled in the lightes, tempered in the harte, and dispersed thorow the bodye. Some haue sayde of water as Hippias. Other of the earthe as Heliodorus and Proponides, with whiche after a sorte do agré Anaximander and Thales bothe felowe citisens of Milesia. Other would

would haue it to be a spirit mixed of the fire and the ayre,
as Boetes and Epicurus. Other of the water and the
earthe, as Zenophontes. Other of the earthe and the fiere
as Permenides. Other of bloud, as Empedocles, and Cir-
cias. Other a thinne spirite dispersed throzowe oute the
bodie, as Hyppocrates the Physitian. Some, fleashe
with the exercise of the senses, as Asclepiades. Manye
other also haue beleued, that the soule is not that small
bode, but a certayne qualitie and complexion thereof
spreadde throzowe euery parte thereof, as Zeno Cithicus:
and Dicearchus defineth the soule to bee the complexion
of the foure Elementes: and Cleanthes, Antipater, and
Posidonius saye that it is heate or a hotte complexion, to
whom Galene & Pergamenaine doth agree. Ther bee other
also, whiche haue sayde, that the soule is not that qua-
litie or complexion, but resident as it were at some point
thereof in some certayne part of the body, as in the hart,
or in the brayne, from thence gouerninge the whole bo-
dy, in the number of whiche are Chrysippus, Archelaus,
and Heraclytus Ponticus, whome sayde that the soule was
lighte. There are others besides, whiche haue beleued
that the soule is a certayne more free thinge, as some free
pointe bounde to no parte of the bodye, but secluded from
all determinate settinge of the bodye and wholly presente
at euery parte of the bodye, whiche whether complexion
hathe begotten, or God created, is notwithstandinge
come out of natures lappe. Of this opinion were Xe-
nophanes, Colophonius, Aristoxenus, and Asclepiades
the Physitian, who sayde that the soule was an exercising
together with the senses, and Critolaus the Peripateticke
sayde that it was a quintessence: And Thales Milesius
sayde that the soule was an vnquiete nature, mouinge
herselfe. And Xenocrates called it a number mouinge
it selfe: whome the Egyptians doe followe, sayeing that
the soule is a certayne force passinge into all bodyes: and
the Caldees would haue it to be a vertue without a des-
S ij terminate

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terminate forme, the which yet receaueth into it all
straunge formes: al truely do agree in this, that the soule
is a certayne nimble force to moue, or els to be a certayne
highe harmonie of the bodyly partes, but yet dependinge
vpon the nature of the body. And the diuelish Aristotle
soloweth theire steppes, who finding out a newe worde
calle the Soule Eutelechia, that is to witte, the perfec-
tion of a naturall instrumentall bodye, hauinge life in
power, the which perfection geueth it beginninge of
vnderstandinge, feelinge, and mouinge. And this is the
feeble definition of so an approued Philosopher concer-
ninge the soule, which dothe not declare the substance,
nature, or beginninge thereof, but the affections there-
of. Furthermoze there are besides all these, others which
haue sayde that the Soule is a certayne Diuine sub-
staunce, whole and not to be denided, and presente to all
and euery parte of the body, in suche wise proceeded from
the incorporeall maker, that it dothe depende on the onely
vertue of the worker, not on the lappe of matier. Of this
opinion were Zoroastes, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus,
Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, Eumenius, Hammonius, Plu-
tarch, Porphyrius, Timeus, Locrus, and the Diuine
Plato whose sayde that the soule was a beinge or a sub-
staunce which moueth it selfe endewed with vnderstan-
dinge. Eunomius the Bishop agreeing partely with
Aristotle, partely with Plato, defineth the soule to be an
incorporeall substance made in the body, vpon the which
definition he afterwarde grounded his opinions. Cicero,
Seneca, and Lactantius saye, that menne are altogeather
ignozaunte what the soule is. Beholde you see howe
muche they disagree emonge themselves concerninge the
substaunce of the soule, and do no lesse ridiculousse va-
rye emonge themselves aboute the seate thereof: for
Hippocrates, and Hierophylus place it in the ventri-
cles of the brayne. Democritus in all the bodye. Eras-
stratus in the bypermoste skynne of the brayne. Strato,

in the space betwene the eye browes : Epicurus, in all the
breste . Diogenes in the hollowe vaine of the harte . The
Stoickes and Chrysippus, in all the harte, & breath whiche
is aboute the harte. Empedocles in the bloud, vnto whom
Moses doth agrée, who hath for that cause forbad men to
eate bloude, because the life of a liuing thinge is therein:
Plato, Aristotle, and the other noblest Philosophers, in all
the body , but Galene supposeth that euery parcell of the
bodie hath his soule , for in this wise he speaketh in his
booke of the vtilité of partes: there are also many partes
in liuinge thinges, some greater , some lesser , and some
not able all manner of waies to be diuided into the like-
nesse of liuinge thinges, but necessarily euery soule stand-
eth in néede of all these: for the bodie is the instrumente
thereof: and therefore the partes of liuinge creatures do
much differ one from an other, because the soules do . I
do not thinke good in this place to passe ouer the opinion
of Beda the Diuine, who writtinge vpon Marke saith, the
principall place of the soule is not , as Plato saith in the
braine, but accordinge to Christe, in the harte. Concer-
ninge the continuance of the soule , Democritus and E-
picurus saie, that it dieth together with the bodie. Pytha-
goras & Plato affirme that it is immortall, and going out
of the bodie, fleeth to y nature of his kinde: The Stoickes
standinge as it were in the middelt betwene these , saie
that the soule doth forsake the body in such sorte, that the
soule whiche is diseased in this life , and auanced with
no vertues dieth togeather with the bodie: but if it be ad-
orned with Heroicall and noble vertues they suppose
that it shalbe accompatgned with euerlastinge natures,
and enter into the highest dwellinges . Aristotle saith
that some partes of the soule, which haue corporal seates,
be vnseperable from them, and die togeather with them:
but that the vnderstandinge, whiche hath no instrument
of the bodie, as perpetuall, is seperated from that whiche
is corruptible , but he speaketh so couertly and doubtful

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ly, that his interpreters do hitherto dispute of this thinge. Alexander Aphrodiscus saith plainly, that hereby he hath made the soule mortall, of the same opinion amonge our men is Gregorie Nazianzene. Against these is Plato, and of the Christians Thomas of Aquine is at daggers drawinge in the defence of Aristotle, & saith that he hath thought well touchinge the immortallité of the soule. Auerrois that worthy commentour vpon Aristotle supposeth, that euery man hath a proper soule, but mortall, but yet that mans minde, or let vs call it vnderstandinge, is euery where bothe before and behinde, euerslastinge: but that all men, or mankind haue one, whiche onely we should vse in our life. Themistius saith, that Aristotle hath sette out one onely actiue minde, but the same capable and manifolde, and hath made bothe perpetual. Moreover it is come to passe by meanes of these Philosophers, that also amonge Christian deuines there is growen a discorde touchinge the beginning of soules, some of which saie that the soules of all men were made in heauen from the beginninge of the worlde, amonge whom of many there is one Origines a very well learned man. Augustine also supposeth that the soule of the first parente toke his beginning with the heauely creatures, and that it is more auncient then the bodie, and that after he had considered and behelde a dwelling place meete for him selfe, he chose it willingly, albeit he semeth not to affirme this very constantly and boldly. Some suppose that one soule is begoten of an other, as a bodie of a bodie, in whiche opinion Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, Tertullian, Cyrillus, & Luciferanus were: againste whose Heresie Hierome doth strongly dispute. Some saie that all soules be dayly created: these doth Thomas of Aquine follow fightinge with a peripateticall argument in this manner: that sith the soule is the forme of the bodie, the ought not to be created aparte, but in the bodie: the which opinion is already well nere approued of al the schole of the

The disagreement of diuines concerning the Original of the soule.

the diuines of late time: I let passe the degrees of soules, their ascendings, and descendings, whiche the Origenistes haue bzought in, but not maintayned by the holy Scripture, nor agréable to Christian doctrine: so that there is no certaintie neither emonge Philosophers, nor emong deuines touchinge the soule. For Epicurus and Aristotle make it mortall: Pythagoras leadeth it aboute. And there are some (as Petrarcha saithe in a certaine place) which draw it to his bodie: there be also some which spreade it vpon the bodies of liuinge thinges, there be other which restore it to heauen, there be some which constrain it to go wandring about y^e earth, some put it into Hell, other denie it, there be of these whiche would haue euerie soule to be created by her selfe, other which thinke that they were al created togeather: these be his wordes. There was Auerrois moreouer who presuming to speake some very marueilouse matter, made (as I haue saide) a vnitie of the vnderstanding. The Manichean Heretikes saide there was but one soule of all or vniuersall thinges dispersed into all bodies aswell liuinge as not liuinge: but that they did lesse participate whiche seemed vnto vs without soule, and more the liuinge, but muche more the heauenly: and so at length they conclude, that the particulare soules be but partes of the vniuersall soule. Plato also doth auouché that there is one soule of al the vniuersal: but others of the particulars, as who would saie that generallly the vniuersall is liuinge in his owne life, and by them selues also the perticulars liue. Furthermore some doe affirme one kinde of soules, others not one but two, the reasonable and the vnréasonable: some, many, and so many as there be kindes of liuinge creatures. Galene the Physician thinketh that diuerse soules be in diuerse creatures accordinge to the kinde, besides this he also placeth many soules in one bodie. There are also some, whiche make two soules to be in a man, the sensitive of the begetter, the other intellectuall of the creatour:
emonge

amonge whom is Occam the deuine. Plotinus saith that the one is the soule the other the vnderstandinge: and Apollinaris is of y same opinion. Some make no difference betwene the soule and the vnderstandinge, but saie that it is the principal parte of the substance of the soule: but Aristotle thinketh that this is in power therein, and that by action it cometh vpon it from abroad and that it auai-
 leth not to the nature and being of a man, but to the per-
 fection of knowledge, and contemplation. And therefore he affirmeth that fewe and onely Philosophers haue that
 whiche is called vnderstandinge in action. And verily there is yet great disputation among the Diuines, whe-
 ther in dead bodies (whiche was the Platonians opinion) there remained memorie and perceauing of the thinges,
 whiche they haue donne and lefte behinde them in theire
 life time, or vtterly haue forgotten them, whiche thinge the Thomistes do stily maintaine with their Aristotle,
 and the Carthusians do establishe it with the example of
 that diuine of Paris retourned from Hell, who being de-
 maunded, what he had remaininge of his knowledge, he
 answered: that he knew nothinge but paine: and allsa-
 ging the saying of Salomon, there is no reason, no know-
 ledge, no riches in Hell, he seemed to them to conclude,
 that there remained no knowledge to y dead. The which
 thinge is yet manifestly against not so much the opinion
 of the Platonians, as against the authoritie and veritie of
 the Scripture, seinge the Scripture saith, that the wic-
 ked shal see and know, that he is God: yea moreouer they
 shal render an accompte also not onely of al their deedes,
 but also of their idell wordes and thoughtes. There are
 moreouer some whiche dare to write and declare many
 thinges of the apparaunce of soules, and thinges often-
 times farre from the Euangelicke doctrine and holy Ca-
 nons: and albeit the Apostle commaunded that we ought
 not to beleue the Angels from Heauen, if thei should de-
 clare any thinge contrary to that whiche is written, the
 Gospel

Gospel in such wise abolished amonge them, that they do
 sooner and rather beleue a dead man restored to life, then
 the Prophetes, then Moses, then the Apostles, & Evan-
 gelistes. Suche verely was the doctrine and opinion of
 the ritche man buried in Hell, who beleued that then his
 brothers whiche were aliue should beleue, if a dead man
 wente to them, & did beare witnesse to them. To whom
 thus beleuinge Abraham spake in the Gospel sayinge: If
 they beleue not Moses and the Prophetes, they will much
 lesse beleue, if one be sente them from the dead. I do not
 yet therfore altogether denie the holy apperaunces of
 the dead, the warninges and the reuelations: but I do
 monishe you that they are to be muche suspected, sith that
 Satan very often chaungeth him selfe into the Angell of
 light, and counterfaiteth the likenesse of Soules: where-
 fore the Ancour of faith is not to be fastned on them, but
 they ought deuoutely to be accepted for edification, as o-
 ther thinges whiche are not in the holy Canon, or the A-
 pocriphe. There are caried aboute of these trifles many
 fabulouse Bookes, of Tundall, and that whiche is entitu-
 led, the Consolation of Soules, and others with whose
 examples, certaine preachers do feare the ignorant peo-
 ple and get giftes of them. A certaine Frenche protono-
 tarie, a lewde fellow and an abuser hath also writen not
 longe since, a fable of a certaine spirite of Lions. But e-
 amonge the commended writers, Cassianus and Iames of
 Paradise a Carthusian do entreate of these thinges: yet
 there hath bene at any time no sounde truthe or hidden
 wisdom, which might edifie the saluation of our soules,
 reuealed by these apperaunces of soules: but onely Al-
 messe deedes, Praying, and Fastinge, and other workes
 of Christian pietie haue bene perswaded: whiche thinges
 yet be farre better, and more auailablely taught by the
 holy Scripture, and commaunded by the Church. Of
 these apperaunces I haue written at large in our Dia-
 logue of man, and in the Bookes of hidden Philosophie:
 but

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but now lette vs retourne to the Philosophers . All the Pagans whiche haue helde opinion that the Soule is immortal , with a common consent doe affirme the departure of the soules, and that reasonable soules go into vnreasonable bodies , and euen vnto plantes for certaine spaces of time, or as otherwise it shall happen. It is saide that Pythagoras was the authour of these departures, whereof Ouide in his *Transfigurations* singeth in this sorte:

The soules immortal are, and aie
forsakinge their first seate
Receiued in they liue, and
dwell in houses newe and greate.
For I my selfe remember well
in time of *Troiane* warre,
That I *Euphorbus* was the Sonne
of *Panthus*, in whom farre
Did *Menelaus* in time paste,
thrust in a weightie speare:
I knewe the shielde whiche I did earst,
in my leaste hande eke beare:
Not longe agone in *Argos* towne,
in *Iunos* temple there.

Timon, Xenophanes, Cratinus, Aristophon, Hermippus, Lucianus, & Diogenes Laertius haue witten many more thinges of this Pythagoricall passage or departure: but Iamblicus, and many other togeather with Trismegistus doe agree that the soules departe not onely from men to vnreasonable liuing creatures, nor from them to men, but from vnreasonable liuing creatures, to other of that kinde, and from men to men. But there are also Philosophers emonge whome is Euripides the follower of Anaxagoras, and Archelaus the naturall Philosopher, and after them Auicenna, which saie that the first men grewe out of the Earth in manner of Hearbes: herein no lesse ridiculous to the Poetes, which write emonge their Fables

bles that certaine men grewe of the sowen tæth of Serpentes. There be whiche vtterly denie Generation: as Pirrho the Eliensian, and there be which denie mouinge, as Zeno.

Of the Metaphisickes, that is, thinges supernaturall
and the Science of them. Cap. 53.

But let vs go farther and shewe that these Philosophers doe not onely contende for the thinges, which are in the nature of thinges, but also for the deuises of their imaginations, & for the thinges, which be grounded vpon no principels, neither is it certaine whether they be or not, as thinges which be thought to abide without bodie and matier, & by them termed, deuised formes: the whiche because they be not in the nature of thinges, but are supposed to be aboue nature, therefore they call them transnaturall or Metaphisicke: from hence haue spronge these infinite opinions and on every side repugnant to themselves of the Godes, no lesse wicked, then vnlearned: For Diagoras the Milesian, & Theodorus the Cyrenaicke haue saide that there is no God at all: But Epicurus saide that there was a God, but that he had no care of earthly thinges: Protagoras saide that it could not be known whether there were a God or not. Anaximander thought that the Goddes had a beginninge & endinge, & that in longe distaunce of time they were borne and died. Xenocrates saide that there were eight Gods. Antisthenes was of opinion that there were many popular Gods, but one naturall the greate artificer of the whole. But many of them fel into so great madnesse that they wrought with their owne handes the Gods whiche they worshipped, as the image of Bel was amonge the Assirians, yet it is a wonder howe Hermes Trismegistus doth in his Esculapius extol these carned Gods. But they speakinge of the diuine substance, Thales the Milesian saide

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saide that God was a minde, whiche hath made al things of water: Cleanthes and Anaximenes, saide that the aire was God: Chrysippus, a naturall force endewed with reason, or els a deuine necessitie: Zeno, a diuine and naturall lawe: Anaxagoras an infinite minde moueable by it selfe. Pythagoras, a minde whiche is intentiue & goeth thoro the nature of all thinges, whereof al thinges receaue life. Crotoniates Alcmeon, saide that the Sunne, Moone, and the other starres were Gods. Xenophanes would haue al that which is to be God. Parmenides maketh God to be a certaine continuall circle of light, which they call Stephanen, that is to saie, a Cozone. Aristotle as though a sufficient sure knowledge of the Gods mighte be had by the mouinge of the heauens, hath imagined the Gods to be of theire nature, and doth sometimes attribute the diuinitie to the minde, sometimes he saith that God is the heate of the heauen, sometimes he maketh the world to be God, sometimes he maketh an other God presidente ouer it. Theophraste followeth him with the like inconstaunce. I leaue to speake what Strato, Persens, Aristotle the scholler of Zeno, Plato, Xenophon, Speusippus, Democritus, Heraclides, Diogenes the Babylonian, Hermes Trismegistus, Cicero, Seneca, Plinie, and the rest haue thought hereof, whose opinions yet do not farre disagree from the firste, and already recited. I mighte also reuise ouer the residue of their debates, & monsters of wordes, of the Ideas, of the incorporeals, of the vndiuisible partes, of Hyle, of matter, of forme, of the emptie, of the infinite, of euerlastingnesse, of destinie, of the transcendentales, of the introduction of formes, of the matter of the Heauen, whether the starres be made of the Elementes, or of the quinte essence, whiche Aristotle bringeth in, and of other like thinges, which minister occasion of beleefe, of doubt & of contention to witlesse parsons, but I suppose that I haue made sufficient declaration howe muche the Philosophers varie among them selves concerning the truth, the
necrer

nerer vnto whom a man commeth, the further he goeth from the truthe, and swaracth from Christian Religion. For this cause we knowe that Iohn the xij. Bishop of Rome did erre: whiche would that y blessed soules should not see the face of God befoze the day of Iudgement. We knowe that Iuliane the Apostata did denie Chzist, not for any other cause, then that he being euer studious of Philosophie, beganne to skorne and contemne the basenesse of the Christian faith. For the same cause Celiu, Porphyrius, Lucianus, Pelagius, Arrius, Manicheus, Auerrois, and many other haue so barked againste Chzist, and his Church. Hereof is risen this prouerbe emonge the common people, That the greatest Philosophers are wonte to be the greatest Heretikes: but Hierome also calleth the Patriarkes of Heretikes, and the firste begotten of Egypte, and the barres of Damascus, spoken as true as maye bee. For what Heresies so ever haue benne at any time, they al haue flowed out of the fountaines of Philosophie, as from theire firste seede plotte. Hereby all diuinitie is wel neare corrupted, and in steede of euangelicke Doctours, false prophetes, Heretikes, & Philosophers are sprong vp, which haue made the holy Scriptures of God equal to the inuentions of man, and haue defiled them with the marueilous opinions of men and haue reduced the playne diuinitie (as Gerson saith) to raveling and sophistical bablinge, and to the monstrous Mathematikes. The whiche Paule the Apostle forseinge doth so often exhort and bid vs beware, that none do not spoile and misleade vs thozow Philosophie. Augustine doth maintaine and defende the Church of God from it. And well neare all the other diuines, & holy Fathers haue thought meete to bannish it farre of and vtterlye to route it out of Christian scholes. Neither do there want examples of Pagans, whome we haue reade sometimes to haue benne the like. For the Athenians did put Socrates to deathe the Father of Philosophie, and the Romaines bannished the

A prouerbe.

Diuinitie
corrupted
by philosophy

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Philosophers from their citie, the Messanians, and Lacedaemonians did neuer receiue them: and whiche is moze, in the time of Domitiane they were bannished out of Rome, and also forbidden al Italic. There is extant also a decree of Kinge Antiochus againste younge men whiche presumed to learne Philosophie, and also againste parentes, whiche did allowe theire childerne to studie it. Neither were they onely condemned & bannished by Emperours, and Kinges: but in wziten booke reproved by very well learned men: in whose number are Philiastus, and Timon, whose wzote a booke entituled Syllos in the disprayse of Philosophers: and Aristophanes, whiche wzote a comedy againste them, whiche is entituled the Cloude: and Dion the Prusean wzote a very eloquente Oracion againste Philosophers. Aristides also wzote a very eloquent Oracion againste Plato for the foure Nobles of Athens: Hortensius the Romaine also a very eloquente man and of a very noble familie inueyed againste Philosophie with very stronge reasons: but this sufficeth which is spoken.

Of Morall Philosophie. Cap. 54.

More ouer then this, if there be any Philosophie or Doctrine of manners, as some will, I suppose that this doth not so mutche consist of weake reasons of Philosophers, as of diuers vse, custome, obseruation, & practise of common life, and that it is mutable according to the opinion of times, places, and menne, whiche with threatninges, and flatteries they teache to childzen, and to the elder sorte with lawes, and punishment, naturall industrie hath giuen some thinges to menne, which they cannot be taught: but thei take place by right or wzong, accordinge to the vse of time, and agreemente of menne: whereof it commeth to passe, that, y whiche at one time was vice, an other time is accompted vertue: and that whiche in one place is vertue, in an other is vice: that whiche to one is honeste, to an other is dishoneste: that
whiche

whiche to vs is iuste, to other is vniuste, according to the opinion, or lawes of time, of place, of estate, and of men. Emonge the Athenians it was lawfull for a man to marry his owne sister: but that emonge Romaines was accompted a wicked acte: in time paste emonge the Iewes, and at this daye emonge the Turkes it is lawfull for a man to haue many wiues, and concubines also: this emonge vs Christians is not so wicked as infamous and dishonest. It is accompted a prayse in Greece for yonge men to haue many louers. And finally emonge these nations it is no shame for men nor women to go out vpon a stage and to be a spectacle to the people whiche thinges notwithstandinge emonge the Latines and Romaines were thought vile, infamous, and very dishonest. Yet the Romaines were not ashamed to cary their wiues to bankets, and to bringe them into open assemblies, and to enhabite the foremoste parte of the house, but in Greece the wife goeth not to bankettes excepte it be to their kinsfolke, and vseth to be no wher but in the innermost part of the house, where no man commeth, excepte he be a very neare kinsman. The Egyptians, and the Lacedemonians accompted it a honorable thinge to robbe, emonge vs theues are hanged by the necke vpon the gallows. Iulius Firmicus in his Astrologikes writing to Lollianus saith: Some nations be so facioned by the heauē, that they be notable for y singularitie of their proper manners. The Scythians do traitterously kill with horrible crueltie of beastly wilde- nesse. The Italians haue alwaies bene glorious in princely nobilitie. The Frenchmen, soles. The Sicilians sharpe witted. The Asians, luxurious, & occupied in pleasures. The Spaniardes bee preferred before others in proude boldnesse of bragginge. Euery nation hath a particulare difference of his manners giuen him from aboue, by the whiche the one is easily knowen from the other, that it is easily knowen of what nation one is borne by his voyce, by his speach, by his communication, by his counceyl, by his conuers.

The nature
and incli-
natio of the
men of di-
uers coun-
treis.

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The differ-
ences of
every natio.

conuersation, by his life, by his trade, by his loue, and by his hatred, by his anger, by his warfarre, and other like exercises. For who is that whiche seeth a man go with a cocke pale, with a swearing gesture, with a fierce countenance, with a voyce like an ore, with an vnpleasaunt speache, with wild manners, with leuse or plaited apparell, that doth not iudge him to be a Germane? Do not we knowe the Frenchemen by their modeste goinge, by their wanton gesture, by their mery countenance, by their pleasaunte voyce, by their gentle speache, by their modeste manners, and by their gorgeous apparell: and the Spaniardes by their goinge, by their manners, and by their pleasaunt gestures, by their loughtie looks, by their lamentable voyce, by their trime talke, and neate apparel. Wee see the Italians go somewhat slowly graue in gesture, vnconstaunte in countenance slacke in their voyce, captious in their communication, noble in their manners, and handsome in their apparrell. Wee knowe mozeouer that the Italians doe bleate in their singing, & Spaniardes doe waile, the Germanes doe howle, and the Frenchemenne singe with pleasaunte tune and accente. The Italians be graue in their talke, but craftie: the Spaniardes fine, but gloriois: the Frenchemen ready, but proude, the Germans vnpleasaunt, but simple. In counsailes the Italiane is circumspecte, the Spaniarde, craftie: the Frencheman vnaduised, the Germane profitable, the Italiane is cleane in his fare, the Spaniarde delicate, the Frencheman aboundaunt, the Germane orderly: the Italians are loninge towardes straungers, the Spaniardes pleasaunt, the Frenchemen courteous, the Germans rude and vnapt for intertayninge, the Italians are wise in companie, the Spaniardes warie, the Frenchemen gentle, & Germans imperious & intollerable, the Italians be ielouse in loue, the Spaniardes impatient, the Frenchemen lighte, the Germans ambitious. The Italians be secrete in their hatredes: & Spaniardes con-

constaunt, the Frenchmen menacing, the Germans, reuengers: the Italians are circumspecte in doinge their businesse: the Germans painefull, the Spaniards biglaunt, the Frenchmen careful. The Italians be valiant in the fildes, but cruell, the Spaniards craftie, and greedy: the Germans cruel, and setters, to sale: the Frenchmen couragious, but vnaduised: the Italians extel in learning, the Spaniards in nauigation, the Frenchmen in ciuilitie, the Germans in religion and handy craftes. And euery nation what soeuer it be either ciuill or barbarous hath his peculiere manners and customes geuen to them from the influence of the heauens, diuers from the other, whiche cannot chaunce vnder any Arte, or Philosophie: but doe growe in men by a naturall vertue alone without any learning. But let vs turne our talke to them, which haue put in writing the learning of these thinges. These doubtlesse hauinge don the dutie of the Serpēt haue giue vs that fruite by eating wherof we may learne to know good and ill. This is the firste pestilente opinion of them, whiche holde that the good and the ill shoulde be knowne, and by this meanes they saie, that men maye the better seeke vertue and shune vice. But howe muche more sure and profitable, and also howe much more happie should it bee, not onely not to doe euils, but altogether to be ignorant of them also. Who is he that knoweth not, that thowoe this alone all wee were made miserable, when the firste parentes of mankinde learned what was good and what euill: but peraduenture Philosophers shoulde therefore be pardoned for this erreure, if they vnder the name of vertue and goodnesse did not also teache vs very wicked mischiefes & filthie vices. There are many sectes of them whiche haue entreated of manners, as the Academicke, the Cyrenaike, the Eliacke, the Megaricke, the Cynicke, the Eroiticke, the Stoicke, the Peripateticke, and many others. Of these amonge others hathe that Theodorus written Philosophicallie in this manner, whoe as

Against the
opinion of
Philosophers touching the
learninge
of sciences.

The pre-
cepts of
Theodorus
the Philoso-
pher.

Buggerie
allowed of
Aristotle.

Writers do make mention, was called a God to witte, the
wise shal giue his mind to theft, to adultery, & to sacrilege,
when time shal serue, for none of these vices is dishonest
by nature. But if the vulgare opiniõ be take away from
them, which was made by the vilest sorte of soles & igno-
raunt persons, a wise man maye openly vse the company
of Harlots without any shame to him being taken in the
deede doing. There be other opinions of this diuine Phi-
losopher, then the whiche I wotte not if any thinge more
dishonest maye be spoken, sauinge that masculine veneri-
which we haue read to be approued by Aristotle & grai-
ted in Candie with a law made therupon, whiche luxuri-
ousnes or Acte more the beastly is also renowned by Hie-
rome the Peripateticke after this maner sayeing: that by
the meanes therof many tyrannies haue bene take away.
But the wordes of Aristotle in his polittikes, where he
thinketh it auailable to the commõ wealth, that the com-
mõ people should not haue many children, be these: Many
things hath the maker of lawes wisely & diligetly ordai-
ned for the temperaunce of meat, as a thing very profitas-
ble, and touching the deuorcemetes of women: to the end
that they mighte not bringe forth a superfluous multi-
tude, he commaunded that the companie of men shoulde
be vsed. This is that Aristotle whose manners were re-
proued by Plato, whereof grew the hatred and vngrate-
fulnes of him towarde his maister, whose fearinge the
Iudgemente of his wicked life praeuely and speedely fled
from Athens, who beinge very vnthankefull towarde
his benefactours with the ventime of the Water of Stix
flewe that greate Alexandér, by whome he hathe bene so
largely and nobly auanced with authoritie and digni-
tie, and which had put his life, his body, and his soule in-
to his handes and restored his countrie. Whiche Ari-
stotle also hauinge a false opinion of the soule, sayde, that
after deathe there was no place of ioye: whose hauinge
robbed, and malitiously interpreted the sayeinges of the
auncientes

auncientes by theſe and falſe accuſations gotte a prayſe
 of wit, yea mozeouer hauinge lewdly ſpente many good
 dayes, and thoroꝝ the immoderate deſire of knowledge
 fallinge madde ſlewe him ſelfe, beinge made a worthy
 ſacrifice foꝛ the devils whiche taught him knoweledge: a
 very worthy Doctoure doubtleſſe at this daye of the La-
 tine ſchwoles and whome my diuines of Colene haue rec-
 koned emonge theire ſaintes, whiche haue made a booke,
 and put him in printe with the title of the ſaluatton of
 Ariſtotele: and an other alſo in verſe of the life and deathe
 of Ariſtotele, whiche they haue expounded with a gloſe of
 diuinitie: in the ende of whiche booke they conclude that
 Ariſtotele hath bene the ſoze runner of Chriſte in natural
 thinges as Iohn the Baptiſte was in free thinges. But
 that wee maye not go farre aſtraye from the purpoſe, *The opiniõ*
 let vs heare, what the Philoſophers thinke of felicitie *of Philoſo-*
 and of the ſoueraigne good: foꝛ ſome haue placed this in *phers con-*
 pleaſure, as Epicurus, Ariſtippus, Guidus, Eudoxus, Phi- *cerning the*
 loxenes, and the Cyrenaickes, other haue accompted it in *ſoueraigne*
 honeſtie ioynd with pleaſure, as Dinomachus, and Cali- *good.*
 pho, other haue placed it in the fiſt begotten of nature,
 as Carneades and Hierome the Rodiane: other in lacke
 of paine, as Diodorus: other in vertue, as Pythagoras, So-
 crates, Ariſton, Empedocles, Democritus, Zeno Citicus,
 Cleanthes, Hecaton, Poſſidonius, Dionyſius the Babylo-
 niane, and Anthiſtenes, and all the Stoickes, and many of
 our diuines after a ſozte agreeinge to them, do hitherto
 diſpute of the knittinge togeather of vertues, and what
 that common foundation of felicitie is wherein all ver-
 tues ought to agree. Foꝛ excepte all vertues do meete
 togeather, they neuer make a man bleſſed, yea if one
 alone ſhall wante. When ſithe the vertues be emonge
 themſelues vnlike, and after a ſozte contrarpe, liberali-
 tie, and ſparinge, Magnanimitie, and humilitie, mercy
 and iuſtice, contemplation, and carefull labour in con-
 tinuall worke, and many other ſuche lyke, excepte they
 all

all agré in one, they cannot be nomoze called vertues but vices. But Ambrose and Lactantius folowinge Plato in his common wealthe, thinke that to be iustice wherein they all ought to agré, other temperaunce whiche setteth a meane in all thinges, other pietye as Plato woulde in Epimenides, other charitie, without whiche theire is no profite in vertues as Paule thinketh, and hitherto dothe Thomas, Henrye, Scotus and others dispute vpon these thinges. But let vs retourne agayne: some haue put felicitie in fortune, as Theophraste: but Aristotle in fortune toynd with the Primigenij, and with the vertues, but that is moze, in pleasure, but painted with the goodes of vertues, as who woulde saye that Epicurus defendeth not his pleasure with these goodes, finally the other Peripatetickes, in speculation. Herillus the Philosopher, Alcidas, and many of Socrates secte, supposed that science was the soueraigne god: but the Tiberinia people adloingninge to the Calibes of whome Apollonius and Pomponius haue made mention, sayde that lasciuiousnesse, and laughter, was the chiefeſte felicitie. There are also some whiche haue put the soueraygne god in silence, but the Platonians withe theire Plato, and Plotinus do alwayes saouring of heavenly thinges haue placed felicitie with the soueraygne god in con corde. Bias of Priena in wisdom, and Boristhenes in prudence, Thales Milesius in the layeing together of these thinges. Pittacus the Miteleniane, in well doinge: Cicero, in immunity from labour and businesse: but this cannot be founde but in God alone. I passe ouer the other meane Philosophers, whiche haue taken awaye all felicitie, as Pirrho of Elea, Euricolas, and Xenophanes, and them whiche haue placed the chiefeſt felicitie in glozpe, in honoure, in power, in reste, in riches, and in suche like thinges, as Periander the Corinthiane, and Licophrone, and they of whiche the Psalmiste speaketh: whose mouthe hath spoken vanitie, and theire righte hande is the righte hande of iniquitie.

Whose

Whose sonnes are as yonge plantes in their youth: And their daughters adourned and trimmed like the Temple. Their store houses are full, voidinge from one into an other: their sheepe are full of yonge abounding in lambes, and their Oxen fat. There is no ruine in their headges, nor in the pasingeire, nor crie of them in the streets: They haue called the people blessed, whiche hath these things. They be in like manner in contrarie opinions touchinge pleasure, which (as you haue harde before) Epicurus thinke to be the soueraigne God: contrarywise Architas of Tarentum, Antisthenes, and Socrates saie that it is the greatest euill. Speusippus, & some auncient Academickes haue saide that pleasure and sorow be two euilles, the one set against the other, and that to be good which standeth in the middelt of them, Zeno thought that pleasure was neither good nor euill but indifferent. Critolaus the Peripateticke, and Plato saie that pleasure is naught, and the baite and parente of al euils. It should be too tedious to recompte the opinions of all men touchinge felicitie, and to make a collection of these things, whereof others haue writen very many booke: for Marcus Varro gathered together of these two hundred eightie and eight opinions, as Augustine saith, and I suppose that I haue here sufficiently recited the moste famous of them. But let vs now see, how these do agree with Christe, and so it shalbe seene that we do not gette felicitie, & blessednesse by the Stoicke vertue, neither by the Academicke purginge, neither by the Peripateticke speculation, but by faith and grace in the worde of God. We haue harde howe some Philosophers haue placed felicitie or blessednesse in pleasure, but Christe in hunger and thirste, some in honour, fame, and greatnesse of name, but Christe in sleaunders, and hatred of men, some in the Primigenij, in health, in ioye, in lacke of paine: but Christe in weeping, and wailing, some in wisdom, in knowledge, and moral vertues, but Christe in innocencie, simplicitie, and cleanness.

cleannesse of hart, some in fortune, but Christ in merite,
 some in glozie of warre and subduinge of countries, but
 Christe in peace: some in honour and pompe, but Christe
 in humilitie, callinge the meke blessed, some in power
 and victorie, but Christe in persecution: some in riches,
 but Christe in pouertie. Christe teacheth that perfect ver-
 tue is not gotten but by grace geuen from aboue, the
 Philosophers saie, that it is gotten by our owne strength
 and exercise: Christe teacheth that concupiscence is sinne,
 the Philosophers contrarywise reckon it emonge the
 common thinges, which be thought neither vertues, nor
 vices, and that he doth go forwarde in vertues whiche
 hath them reasonably well. Christe teacheth that wee
 should doe well to all men, and also to loue our enemies,
 to lende freely, and without rewarde, not to take reuen-
 gment of any, that we ought to geue to euery one that
 asketh: contrarywise y^e Philosophers saie, that we should
 geue to none but them onely, which doe requite benefite
 for benefite, mozeouer it is lawfull to be angrie, to hate,
 to fighte, to make warre, and to practise vsurie. Further-
 more they haue geuen vs the Pelagian Heretikes with
 their free will and with the instruction and natural light
 of righte reason. All morall Philosophie, as Lactantius
 saith, is false, and vaine, not instructinge to the offices
 of iustice, neither confirminge the dutie and counsailes
 of man. Finally it is altogether repugnant to Goddes
 lawe, and to Christe him selfe, that the glozy thereof is
 due to none other, then to Satan.

Of Politicke Gouvernaunce. Cap. 55.

This Philosophie also belongeth politicke, whiche
 is the Arte to gouerne the common wealth. There
 be thre kindes thereof, that is to witte, Monarchia
 whiche is the rule of one, Aristocratia, whiche is of fewe,
 but noble, ritche, or els of the chieftest, Democratia, which

The partes
 of Politie.

is

is of the people, or popular. Perteyneth to these be the tyrannies, Oligarchia, and Anarchia. But writers do not yet agree whiche of these is to be preferred. For they whiche saie that Monarchia is beste, do fortifie their opinion with examples of nature, sayinge, that as vniuersally there is but one greate God, amonge the Starres one Sunne, amonge the Bees one Kinge, amonge flocks of sheepe one leader, amonge herdes of beastes one ruler, and the Cranes follow one: so in a comon wealth there ought to be but one Kinge as a heade from whiche the members maie not disagree. This before the other was allowed of Plato, Aristotle, Apollonius, to whome of our men Cyprian, and Hierome consente. But they whiche praise Aristocritia, saie that there is nothinge better to gouerne weightie matters, then the consultation of many and of the beste agreinge in one opinion. For of many good men, it muste needes be that the counsailes be good: & that none alone is wise enough, forsomuch as this alone belongeth to God. To this opinio Solon, Ligurgus, Demosthenes, Pallie, and well neare all the aunciente makers of lawes haue subscribed, & Moses also: to whome Plato moreouer consenteth sayinge that common wealth and Citie seemeth vnto him to be set in a verie good & most happie state, which is gouerned by wisemen: wherunto if you thinke beste, let vs ioigne the gouernance of noble men, for this opinion is established with the consente of many. But they whiche haue preferred the common wealth ruled by the people, haue called it with the goodliest name of all, Isonomia, that is to saie, equalitie of lawe. For there all thinges are put in common, and all counsailes be more certainly receaued of the multitude, wherewith no doubt all thinges are founde. Finally it is wonte to be saide, the voice of the people is the voice of God, therefore it is necessarie that whatsoener pleaseth all men, & what so euer is ordained by the consente of the common people, is presumed to be a thinge very good and iuste,

*The saying
of Plato.*

suffice, as it were appointed of God him selfe. In briefe
 they saie that this gouernment is surer then that of the
 chiefest parsonages, because it is lesse subiecte to sedition:
 for the people neuer or seldome are at discorde emonge
 themselves, but the nobles verie mutche, and verie of-
 ten. Furthermoze in the gouernemente of the peo-
 ple resteth all equalitie, and libertie oppressed by no
 mans tirannie, where degrees of honour be equall, and
 none is better then his neighbour, but every one, and all
 the multitude by course dothe rule and is ruled. Othanes
 the Persian, Eufates, and Dion of Syracusis did there-
 fore commend this moze then the other, and wee see at
 this daie that the Venetians and the Swissers with this
 Democratia flourish befoze al the Souerainties & Seignio-
 ries in Christendome, and haue the prise of victorie, and
 the praise of prouidence, of power, of ritchesse, and of Ju-
 stice. Pea and the Athenian common weale in times past
 rulinge very farre abzoade, and mightely was gonerned
 by Democratia alone, and all thinges were handled by
 the people, and emonge the people. And in times paste
 the Romans hauing proued al the kindes of gouernment
 did gette the greatest parte of theire Empire vnder the
 popular Democratia, neither did they stande in worse
 estate, then vnder Kinges, and Nobles, but worse
 of all vnder Emperours, vnder whome all their power
 suffered shipwarke. It cannot therefore easily be iudged
 which of these thre is the better, & mozte profitable, sithe
 that euery one hath his maintainers and defenders. For
 Kinges to whome it is lawfull to do all thinges without
 punishment at theire pleasure, very seldome do gouerne
 well, and neuer rule without sturre of warres. Kingli-
 nesse also hath this pestilent mischief in it, that they al-
 so, which in time paste were very good men, and allowed
 by al mens consent, asone as they had rule in hande as it
 were licence to offende, became presumptuous and verie
 wicked, whiche was seene in Caligula, Nero, Domitian,
 Mithridates,

Mithridates, and many other, and the holy Scripture also do bewraie it in Saule, Dauid, and Salomon the chosen Kinge of God, and of all the Kinges of Iuda, a very fewe haue benne allowed, of the Kinges of Samaria, none. But they whiche now a daies be called Kinges, Emperours, and Princes suppose that they be bozne and created not for the people, for the Citizens, for the common sorte, for iustice, but to defende and preserve the nobilitie: and do rule in suche sorte that they seeme that the wealth of all the Citizens is not committed to their custodie, but giuen them to spoile & sacke, takinge all thinges from all men, and vse their subiectes accordinge to their will and pleasure, and do abuse the authoritie geuen them from aboue towards their subiectes, charginge without ende and measure the Citizens with borowinge, the common people with subsidies, some with exactions & pillage, other with tributes one vpon an other. But if any more modest Princes do release these thinges, yet they do it not for the common profite, but for their owne commoditie, sufferinge their subiectes to prosper, that they also maie prosper, & maie haue what to robbe when they list. Wea moreouer to the ende they maie purchase the praise of iustice, they ordaine straight lawes, but they attire Auarice and crueltie with iustice, they punish offenders with terrible tormentes, with forsaiture of their goodes and with many other vnrasonable and disordinate extremities, herein no better then tirauntes, because they couet to haue verie many offenders. For as the mischieuous deedes of offenders be the sortes of tirauntes, so the multitude of transgressours is the riches of Princes. I had in time passe in Italie verie familiar conuersation with a mightie Prince, whome when on a time I exhorted to appease and mitigate the seditions of the Gibellins, and Guelfins in his dominion, he confessed to me that by the occasion of that boile and takinge of partes he had as good as twelue thousande Ducates in condemnations

§

yearly

Cornelius Agrippa

yearly brought into his treasure. But hereof we will speake more at large in the Booke of politicke nobilitie. But when the chiefeſt perſonages haue the rule of the common wealth, therein togeather with them dwelleth hatred, anger, and emulation, wherefoze very ſeldome they raigne peaceably togeather, and whileſt euery man woulde haue his opinion to be preferred, and be chiefeſt in authoritie, there are ſtired vp emonge them priuate hatredes, whereof oftentimes takinge of partes, ſeditious, ſlaughters, and ciuil warres do ariſe to the deſtruction of the common wealthe. Infinite examples of this miſchiefe be written in the Hiſtozies of the Graekes and Latines, and at this date alſo many Cities of Italie do ſhew them ſelues piteouſe ſpectacles of them. But almoſt euery man iudgeth the gouernment of the people to be worſte. Apollonius diſwadeth Vaſpaſiane from this with many reaſons: and Cicero ſaith, that in the common people there is no reaſon, no counſaile, no difference, no diligence, and the Poete ſaith:

Virg. Lib.
4. Enead.

Th'vnſteadfaſt people ſeuered are in ſundrie mindes.
And Othanes the Perſian ſaith, that there is nothinge more preſumptuous, noz more ſolliſhe then the multitude of the people: and it is the propertie of the common people to vnderſtand nothing, but to renne headlong without aduiſe to do theire buſineſſe, like to a riuer that runneth with greate violence. Demosthenes alſo calleth the people a naughtie beaſte, and Plato nameth it a beaſte with many heades, whereof Horace maketh mention, and Phalaris writinge to Egeſippus ſaith: All the people is raſhe, madde, ſlouthfull, very readie to chaunge opinion into whatſoeuer ſhall befall, diſloyall, vnſtedfaſte, ſwifte, traiterous, ful of deceit, onely profitable in voice, ready, and prone to anger, and prayſe: hereof it cometh that he, whiche in gouerninge the common wealth endeuoureth to pleaſe the people, perſiſheth with honeſte reproche. But Licurgus the Lacedemonian lawe maker

being

Epiſtol. 77.

beinge demaunded on a time why in his comon wealth he had not ordained a populare state or gouernment, he answered him that asked, make first in thy house a principallitee of the people. Aristotle also in his Ethickes thinketh that the gouernaunce of the people is worst, and of one, beste of all. For the common people is the head of errours, and mistresse of lewde customes, and a greate heape of mischiefes. They cannot be turned with reasons, with authorities, nor with perswasions, because the one they vnderstande not, the other they refuse, to hire perswasions they are dul and obstinate, whose manners be alwaies very vnconstant, desiringe new things, and hatinge them that are presente: neither can they be refrained by the learninge of wise menne, by the institution of Fathers, by the authoritie of Magistrates: nor by the Maiestie of Princes: emonge whome the counsailes of wise men were neuer harde without daunger, or in vaine: whilst the folie of the multitude doth well neare alwaies beare rule: as it is manifest in Socrates concerninge the opinion of the Goddess, to the Athenians, in the Troiane heade concerninge the byringe in of the horse: in Magius Campanus, who counsailed that Hannibal should not be receaued into the Citie, in Paulus Emilius, who refused the fighte at Cannas, and finally in so many prophecies of Gods Prophetes not harde of the Jewes. Wherefore how can the statutes and ordinaunces of the people be good, if the multitude of the people be almost continually ignoraunt of the beste thinges, seinge the greatest parte of them be handie craftes men, and partly also because they do not consist & stande in the ballance of equitie and iustice, but in number, wherein there are alwaies more ill then good: neither is it guided by the perfect iudgement of thinges, but by the opinion & number of the multitude: As Plinie the seconde saith, the opinions be numbred, but they are not pondered. For in the consultation of y^e people that is not of greater autho-

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little which the wisest men thinke beste, but that which contenteth the greatest number. Amonge whom, where as all are accounted equall one to an other, there is nothinge moze vnequall, then this equalitie. Wherefore there is nothinge profitably ordained by the confused furie of the multitude, none of these thinges be better repaired which were brought to utter ruine, and that is moze the thinges which be very well appointed, be rather troubled, and taken awate by the vnlawfull libertie of the common people. Amonge these so diuers gouernementes of common wealthes, many haue chosen a policie mingled with two sortes, as that which Solon ordained of the Nobles and the people, and after this manner he made all partakers of his honour. Many other also did institute a gouernment mixed of all, as that of the Lacedemonians was. For among them the Kinge was perpetuall, but he did beare rule onely in time of warre, there was also a Senate made of the richest and the mightiest: they did likewise create out of the common people tenne perpetuall officers called Ephori, which had authoritie of life and death, representinge the state of the common people. Amonge the Romans in time paste Democratie was mingled with Aristocratie, for the authoritie of the Senate: For many thinges were in the peoples gouernment and some were ruled by the Senate. Nowe a daies in many places the Kinges and Princes rule at theire pleasure, yet they vse noble men, of prouinces, and Magistrates in theire counsailes, and exploitinge theire affaires. And hereof riseth a doubte, which comon wealth is salser, whether that, wherein there is a naughty Prince, & good Counsaillers, or where the Prince is good, and vertuous, and the Counsaillers euill. Marius Maximus, Iulius Capitolinus, & many other chose the firste: vnto whome notwithstandinge many other substanciall authours do not consente, for so muche as we see by very experience, that euill men be oftener corrected by a good Prince,

Prince, then an euill Prince is amended by good men. But finally no Philosophie, no Arte, no science is necessarie to the wel gouerning of the common weale, but the vertue of the rulers. For very well one, very wel a few, very wel the people doe gouerne, if they be vertuous: and moste naughtly, if they be wicked. But that whiche surpasseth al temeritie of naughtinesse, albeit many doe confesse that they are ignorant, or not able to husbände the grounde to feede a flocke, to rule a shippe, to gouerne a familie, to bringe vp childerne, not withstandinge none is founde, that will saye that nature hath not graunted him to knowe howe to beare office in citties, to take the personne of a Kinge and Prince vpon him: and whiche is hardest of all, to commaunde people, and nations. But touching that whiche in this place appertayneth to the knowledge of the ciuill Lawes, with whiche all common wealthes and citties be continued, ruled, augmented, and preserued, we wil speake hereafter.

Of Religion in generall. Cap. 56.

The preservation of the publike weale also Religion belongeth, whiche is a certaine ordinance of ceremonies, and outwarde holy thinges by whiche we bee admonished of the inwarde and spiritual thinges, as by certaine signes: Cicero defineth it to be a discipline, by the whiche the ceremonies of diuine honoure be exercised with reuerente seruite, whiche Cicero and Aristotle also haue witnessed to be very profitable and necessarie to citties: for thus he saith in his Politiques. A Prince oughte more then other, to seeme a worshipper of God. For the subiectes doe lesse thinke that they shal suffer any vnjuste thinge at such mennes handes, and doe imagine lesse againste suche a one, as who woulde saye, he hath also the Goddes in his defence. Religion is in suche sorte engrafted in manne by nature, that by that more then by

reason

reason wee be discerned from other liuinge creatures. And that naturally Religion is founde in vs, Aristotle confesseth. further it is manifest by this, that as often as wee bee ouerwhelmed with any perturbation in sodayne daungers and fearets, immediatly befoze wee consider any thinge, and befoze all thinges, wee call vppon God, nature teaching vs without any master, to aske Goddes helpe, and euen from the beginning of the creation of the worlde, Caim, and Abel did religiously do sacrifice vnto God: but Enoch was the first, that instituted after what sorte God shoulde be called vpon. Wherefoze the Scripture speaketh of him. Then at length he beganne to call vpon the name of God. After Noes fludde were giuen many lawes of Religions by many menne, to many nations. For it is reade that Mercurie and Kinge Menna gaue lawes to the Egyptians: Melissus the nourisher of Iupiter, to them of Candie: Faunus, and befoze him Ianus to the Latines, Numa Pompilius to the Romans. Moses and Aron to the Hebrewes, Orpheus to the Grækes. It is founde witten that Cadmus Egenors sonne was the firste that gaue to the Grækes comminge from Phenicia the mysteriēs, and solennities of the Goddes, the dedication of Images, himnes, and other holy things, pompes, and assemblies, with the whiche they did honoure God. And whiche is moze also they made diuine powers ouer robberies and mischeinous deedes, neither only thei haue giuen names to the Goddes, but also haue ordayned Sacrifices. The Romans haue worshipped Iupiter the adulterer, and rauisher, and in the palace they did dedicate a common temple to the Feuer, and erected an Aultare to euil Fortune in Exquilijs a mountaine in Rome. Furthermoze they inuented Gods in hell, whiche they worshipped, honouringe the Prince of hell Satane him selfe the vilest & most miserable of all other, vnder the names of Dis, Pluto, & Neptune, assigning to him for a keeper the triple headed Cerberus, that is, the deuourer of fleashe, whiche

whiche alwayes goeth about seekinge whome he maie deuoure, sparinge noman, hurtinge all men, and accusinge all men. For this cause he was called the diaule, as whoe saith an accusar. Wherefore the Poete saith:

The Prince of hell requierde the sinnes
that men did here commit:

VWho was deuouide of pitie, and
no ghostes he did remit.

The furies stande on euery side
with diuers kindes of paines:

And diuers tormentes vseth he,
with rueful rotlinge chaines.

In times paste the Egyptians worshipped with theire Gods, brute beastes and monsters also, and there be yet at this daye of them which worship Idols, and Images. And the Turkes, the Sarasens, the Arabians, and the Mores and a greate parte of the worlde in these daies do worship Mahumet the authour of a very foolish religion: and the Jewes hitherto continuinge in their vnfaithfulness doe obstinately looke for the coming of their Messias. And diuers of our Bishoppes at diuers times, and in diuers countries haue prescribed manners of Religions to vs Christians. It is a marueile to see in how many lawes they disagree among themselves about rites, about ceremonies, about worshippinge, about meates, about fastinges, about apparayle, aboute lucrée, aboute pompes, about miteres, about purple, and other suche thinges. But one thinge there is that surmounteth the admiration of all maruailes, that they with these ambitious manners doe thinke themselves able to ascende into heauen, for the whiche in times past Lucifer fel from thence. And finally all these lawes of Religion are layde vpon no other foundation, then on the ordinaunces of suche as instituted them: and moreouer they haue no other rule of certaintie, but very incredulity. Consider how many opinions there be in Religion, and howe many there haue bene since the
beginninge

beginninge of the worlde, howe many ceremonies, howe many worshippinges, howe many blages, howe many heresses, howe many ordinaunces, howe many bowes, how many Lawes, and yet the Religion of the Lord God which hath continued so many yeares past cannot bring men to the right faith without the Worde of God: who after he was incarnate, and triumphed over our enemies upon the crosse, the Temples and Idols were throwen downe, the power of the heathen Goddes ceased and the oracles failed.

The Oracle doth leaue to speake
whiche none can now recalc:
For longe time since *Apollo* ceaste
his answeres haue a fal.
His gates are shut, he silence keepes
wherefore forsake the coste:
And Sacrifices duely donne
retourne to thy owne oste.

For after that the Worde of God by the tidinges of the Gospel began to appeare to the worlde, al the Goddes of the gentils as it were blasted with lightninge fell to the ground, as Chyriste saithe in Luke: I sawe Satan fall from heauen enen as it had ben lightninge. But concerninge that, whiche here appertayneth to faith, to divinitie, and to the decrees of the Canons, we will discusse hereafter: we speake in this place of religion concerning these Actes whiche belonge to the gaine of Priestes, and to the beautifying of the common weale with their Images, Pictures, Temples, Churches, Chaples, Feastes, Pompes, and offices of Priesthode, of which thing I did els where dispute at large amonge the Theologicke opinions declaired by me at Coleine in the yere of our Lord 1510, wherefore we here passe them over with very brief discourse, shewing also that in the thinges, whiche have bene invented for the settinge forth of Religion, and for the salvation of men, there is founde much naughtines
forygned

soygned with vanitie. Whiche thinge we will nowe declare to be true, ranginge thozow every part and parcel.

Of Images. Cap. 57.

AL the people in times past did not allow the worshippinge of Images. For the Jewes (as Iosephus writeth) did abhorre nothing more then Images: neither did they make any Image of that whiche they worshipped, nor of the thinges, whose remembraunce they kepte. For the Lawe of God, by Moses did forbidde that Images shoulde be made, or put in temples, or to worship them. Amonge the people Seres also (as Eusebius witnesseth) was a Lawe, whiche did forbidde, that they shoulde not worshippe Images. Wee reade likewise in Clement, and Plutarch, that by the appointment of Numa 170. yeares after Rome was built, there was scene in the Temples of the Romans no Image, grauen, or painted. Augustine also witnesseth the same as Varro writeth, whose wordes, saith he, do moste manifestly affirme, that in Rome by the space of a hundredeth and threescore yeares there was no Image of the Goddes, and that afterwarde it came to passe, that thozowe the multitude of grauen and painted Images the honoz of Religion was neglected, and had in contempte. The Perseans also, accordinge to the sayeing of Herodotus, and Strabo did not make Images. But the wickednesse and foolishnesse of the Egyptians did excede in these thinges, from thence deriued afterwarde into all nations, whiche corrupte custome, and false Religion of the gentils, when they began to be conuerted to the faith of Christe, defiled also our Religion, and brought into our Church Images and pictures, and many barraine ceremonies of glorious shewes, none of whiche thinges was amonge these first and true Christians. Hereof wee began to carrie the dombe Images of our saintes into the Church, and with reuerence

Images
firste deri-
ued fro the
Gentils to
the Chri-
stians.

rence to place them vpon the Aultars of God: and where
 we accompted it for wickednesse that a man the true I-
 mage of God should ascende, there we set Images with-
 out vnderstandinge: to them we encline our heade, them
 we kisse, to them we offer lightes, to them we hange
 by bowstringes, to them we assigne miracles, of them
 we craue gistes, and finally to the we go in pilgrimage,
 to them we make Howes, we do not onely reuerence,
 but worshipping them. It cannot be sayde, howe greate su-
 perstition, I will not saye Idolatrie is maintayned in
 Images emonge the rude and ignoraunt people, whilest
 the Priestes do wincke at these thinges whiche hereof
 receiue no small gayne. And in this matter they defende
 themselues with the wordes of Gregorie, who sayth: that
 Images are the bookes of the people, to the end that a re-
 membraunce of thinges maye be retayned, and that they
 maye reade in them, whiche are vnlearned, and when
 they haue behelde them, that they maye be drawen to the
 inwarde beholdinge of God. But these are the manlike
 inuentions of Gregorie, excusinge them, albeit that ho-
 ly man alloweth Images, he prayseth not the worshippinge
 of them. For we ought not to learne out of the
 forbidden booke of Images, but out of Goddes Booke,
 whiche is the Booke of the Scriptures. He then, that
 desireth to know God, let him not seeke him emonge the
 Images of painters and grauers, but (as Iohn saith) let
 him search the Scriptures, which beare witnesse of him.
 They whiche cannot rade, let them hire the wordes of
 the Scripture. For theire faith (as Paule saith) commeth
 by hearinge. And Chyriste in Iohn saith, my sheepe heare
 my voyce. And moreouer also, if (as Chyriste saythe)
 none can come to him, excepte the Father drawe him,
 and none commeth to the Father, but thowhe Chyriste,
 why take we awaye the glorie from God geuinge it to
 pictures and grauen Images, as if they coulde drawe
 vs to the contemplation, and beholdinge of God with
 the

God is
 known by
 his woorde
 and not by
 Images.

the inward deuotion of the minde : Moreover then that there is, and hath ben a wicked worshipping of reliques. We haue no reliques surer and worthier then the sacrament of the body of Chziste, whiche alone beinge holiest of all is keppe in our Churches because we worship and reuerence Chziste presente who although he be presente euery where, yet there he is bodily presente. But the greedy kinde of Priestes, insatiable men haue not onely made instrumentes of their ranine, of wodde and stoane, but also doe find out a cloke for their couetousnes of dead mennes boanes, of reliques of Martyrs, erectinge sepulchres of confessours, setting in thewe the reliques of Martyrs, sellinge theire touchinges, and kisses, they garnishe their Images, and with great pompe and solempne sights they obserue theire feastes, they preache them, and with greate prayses they extol them aboue the skies, but differ very farre from theire life, whome they doe so much commend. Doe the not our Sauoure speake to these menne: Who be vnto you whiche bulde the sepulchres of the Prophetes, and be like vnto them, which slewe them. Wherefore they accordinge to the custome of the Pagans doe distribute offices to the saintes, and with Neptune this to helpe in daungers of the Waters, that with Iupiter to shutte thunder boltes, or with Vulcane to caste fiere: an other with Ceres to haue charge of the corne, an other with Bacchus to preserue the vines. Follishe women haue also women saintes, of whiche they demaunde childerne as of Lucina or Venus, and whiche with Iuno doe appease or reuenge theire angrie husbannes. There be also of them whiche cause robberies to be discouered, and thinges gonne or losse to be recouered, and there is no kinde or grieve, whiche hathe not his Phisition emonge the Saintes, whiche is the cause Phisitions gayne lesse then Lawyers, for so muche as there is no controuersie so litle, nor so iuste, whiche hathe a Sainte to defende it. But as our soule doth declare by diuers members diuers

P if actions,

actions, and they accordinge to the diuersitie of their dis-
 positions receiue diuers powers, as the eyes, sighte, the
 eares, hearinge: so our Lorde Iesus Chriſte in his miſti-
 cal body, whereof he is the ſoule doth giue and diſtribute
 diuers giſtes of his grace in theſe inferioure thinges by
 diuers of his Sainctes, as members méte for this, and
 euery ſaincte hath his peculiere office of worſkinge, and
 euery one giueth certaine graces: according to the which
 manifolde diſtribution of graces, partly reueled to men,
 partly obteyned by godly coniectures, we craue helpe of
 the Sainctes with ſundrie prayers and inuocations. For
 euen as Chriſte by his death hath redémed our death, in
 whole deathe, holy deathes toke theire beginninge, and
 the deathes of all the faithfull be ſanctified: ſo wée beleue
 that thoſe Martyrs whiche died throught a certaine kinde
 of infirmitie, or were put to deathe with ſuche a like tor-
 ment haue power to deliuer vs from the ſame, as if they
 had ſuffered it for vs, and that truely hath a ſtronge rea-
 ſon. But wée maye wel laugh at them, whiche attribute
 theſe thinges to Sainctes for the ſimilitude of names, for
 the confuſion of voices, and for other ſuche weake inuen-
 tions: as the Germans, which aſcribe the falling ſickeſſe
 to Valentine becauſe that this name ſigniſieth fallinge,
 and the Frenchemen attribute the ſicke of the dropſie to
 Etropius for the like ſounde of the voyce. Yet in this
 place I will not derogate, or diminith any parte of the di-
 uine power, nor the merites of the Sainctes, for he is
 wicked, who ſo euer thinketh amiſſe of Chriſtian piety
 and of the miracles of Sainctes: but he is ſuperſtitious,
 and a ribaulde, whiche for miracles writeth an Hiſto-
 rie of monſtrous lies, and fabulous trifles, and make the
 ſimple people beleue them in ſteede of an Oracle, and re-
 peate them often with greate clamours, they alſo are
 muche moze ſoliſhe, that geue credence to theſe fables &
 dreames. And here I will aduertise you that as the ſu-
 perfluous worſhipping of Images is idolatrie, ſo the ob-
 ſtinate

stinate detestinge of them is Heresie, for the whiche in time paste the Emperours Philippe and Leo the thirde were cōdemned. Also euen as the abuse of Reliques is an accursed dēde, so the vnreuerence of the same is a detestable Heresie, whiche sometime brought vp by one Vigilantius a Frenche man, disanulled by Ierome, and now a fewe yeares paste hath begon a frethe to spring in Germanie togeather with the spoilers of Images.

Of Churches. Cap. 58.

BUt now let vs speake of Churches. We know that this was in time paste a very greate superstition of the Gentils or Pagans, whiche dedicated Temples to euery one of their Goddes, whome the Christians following began afterwarde to dedicate Churches to their Sainctes. Not withstandinge many Nations had no temples: and it is written that Xerxes did once burne all the temples, which were in al Greece by the perswasions of the Magitiens, because it was a wicked and a cursed thinge to shut the Goddes within walles. Wherefore Zeno Citicus did Philosophically reason of Temples in this manner: it is not necessarie to bulde temples, nor holy places, for of righte nothinge is to be thought, nor accompted holy whiche men haue builded. Amonge the Perseans in times paste there were no Temples, and the Hebrewes had but one religious temple in al their countrie erected by Salomon in Ierusalem: whereof notwithstandinge it is reade in Isaie: The Lorde speaketh these wordes, the Heauen is my seate, and the Earth my fote stole. What house is this, that thou doest erect vnto me? And Stephane the firste Martyr saithe: Salomon hathe builded him a house, but he that sitteth on highe dwelleth not in houses made with hande. And Paule the Apostle saithe to the Athenians, God dwelleth not in Temples made with hande, who beinge Lorde of Heauen & Earth,

is not worshipped with the handes of men, as if he had neede of any thinge. But he teacheth that mans nature, and men also being vndefiled, Godly, Holte, Religious, and deuote, be very acceptable Temples to God, as he writtinge to the Corinthians saithe: you be the temple of God, and the spirite of God dwelleth in you, & the temple of God is holy whiche you are. Furthermoze Origenes writtinge againste Celsus, dothe confesse that in the firste Religion from the beginnyng of the Christian faith, and longe time after the passion of Christe, there were no temples builded for our sacrifices, shewing with many reasons, that it is nothinge conuenient for Christians to the worshippinge of God, and true Religion. And Lactantius saithe: Churches are not to be erected vnto God with stoanes heaped on highe: but euery one ought to keepe a place in his harte, whereunto he maie go, to worshippe God.

God doth not dwell in Churches made with might of hande,

A iuste man is the golden Church where he dothe stande.

Matth. 6.

Luke. 6.

And Christe dothe not sende his people into the Church to prae, nor to the Synagoges, but to prae secretly in their chamber. And he him selfe, as it is reade in Luke: neuer wente to the multitude, to the temple, to the Synagoges to prae, but vpon the Mountaine, and there he watched and prayed. Notwithstandinge the Church, whiche doth nothinge, excepte it be moued with the Spirite of God, after that the Christian people was multiplied, and when sinners with the faithfull had already entred into the Church, the feeble with the vnfeeble, and as it was in the Arke of Noe the vncleane with y cleane, it ordained certaine holy Churches, Temples, oratories, and hallowed places free from all worldely businesse in whiche the worde of God might be publickely preached to the Christian multitude, and the other Sacramentes of

of Religion more fitly and sincerely ministered: which hol-
ly places haue alwayes ben had in great reuerence of the
Christian people, and sauoured by Princes with priu-
ledges, nowe they be growen to so greate a number ha-
uinge so many Oratories of Frères ioigned to them, and
priuate Chapels, that it shoulde be very necessarie to cut
awaie many of them as superfluous and aboundinge
members. Moreouer then that, the sumptuousnesse of
their buildinge is stately, whereupon very muche godly
money and Almesse are consumed: with the which many
poore Christians the true temples, and images of God,
whiche die for hunger, for thirste, for heate, for colde, for
labour, for feblenesse, for pouertie, ought to be sustained.

Of Holy daies. Cap. 59.

Festiuall daies also haue euer benne renowned as wel
among the Gentils, as amonge the Jewes: all which
at sometimes of the yeare, in certaine and appointed
daies did separately worshippinge God, as who saith that it
were lawfull sometime to cease from the worshippinge
of God, or peradventure that God wilbe worshipped
more at one time, then at an other: whiche thinge Paule
imbraideth to the Galathians, as a naughty thinge, wri-
ting to them in this wise. You obserue monethes, times,
and yeares, I feare me, leaste I haue laboured for you in
vaine, and without cause. Whereof also he aduertisinge
the Collossians commaunded them, sayinge: let no man
iudge you concerninge meate, and drinke, in parte of the
festiuall daie, or of the times of the newe Moone, or of
the Sabbothes, whiche be shadowes of thinges to come.
For amonge true and perfecte Christians there is no dis-
ference of daies, whiche alwaies keepe holy daie, alwaies
reste in God, & without ceasinge obserue the true Sab-
bothe, as I saye hath prophesied to the Fathers of the
Jewes, that it should come to passe, that their Sabboth
should

Should be taken awaie, & that when the Sauour should come, then the Sabbothe should be perpetuall, and Neominies, (that is, the times of the newe Moone) perpetuall; but the holy Fathers haue ordained some of these daies, and some the Popes haue appointed for the ignorant people, and for the vnstable multitude, and for the vnperfectest parte of the Church, in the whiche daies they assemble together to heare the holy preaching of Gods worde, to honour God, and to communicate the holy Sacramente: yet so, that the Church maie not serue for daies but the daies for the Church. There are therefore daies apointed in the Church, in which the people ought to cease from all worldly businesse, and bodily actes, to the ende they maie more freely serue God, geue themselves to prayer and contemplation, be presente at Gods diuine seruice, and preaching of Gods worde, and such other like thinges, which are then donne for the commoditie of euerlastinge Saluation. But that wrestler of equitie, that breaker of order, and spoiler of beautie, and authour of all evils, I meane the Diuell, continually endeavouringe to ouerthrowe, whatsoeuer the holy Ghost doth bulde, hath euen almoste pulled downe this rocke. In suche sorte that the greatest parte of Christian people dothe not bestowe this holy vacation of Festiuall daies in praier, not in hyringe the worde of God, nor in other thinges, for whiche they be ordained, but doth consume them in sundry corruptions of good manners, and Christian doctrine, in daunsinge, in comedies, in stage plaies, in singinge, in bankettinge, in sportinge, in solemne shewes, in sightes, and in suche like worldly and fleshly workes contrary to the Spirite, and holinesse: and as Tertullian saithe of the solemnities of Caesar. They were then accustomed to execute a great office, to make fiers, and daunce openly, to eate in the streete, to perfame the citie in manner of a tauerne, to fill the throte with wine, to runne at tilte, to do iniuries, to practise dishonestie,

and

and the flickeringe enticementes of luste : and after this manner the open ioye is declared thowwe open shame. Are not we then worthely to be blamed, whiche in this manner do honour the name of Christ and his Saintes? But we haue knowen no Heresies, or very fewe arise through holy daies, false onely the pœuise blasphemie of the Manichees, and the pestilente opinions of the Cathrigi, yet they gaue a verie great occasion of diuision in the Church, when Victor the Romane Bishoppe had excommunicated well neare all the Churches of the East and the South for this onely cause, that in the keapinge of Easter daie they vsed a custome diuerse from the Romane vsage: againste whome at that time emonge other excellent men resisted Policrates Bishoppe of Asia. Moreover Hireneus Bishoppe of Lions, albeit he hallowed Easter accordinge to the Romane vsage, yet he durst be- rie freely to reprove the Pope Victor, because contrarie to the example of his predecessours being become a breake-
 of the peace had diuided the Church not erringe in faithe, but onely disagreeinge in some vsages from the Romane Church. There grewe after ward many things vpon this obseruation of Easter, decrees of Counsailes, and Bishoppes, and reasoninges of olde Fathers, and them which are called Ecclesiasticall accomptes: and yet vntill this daie they haue not benne able to appointe in all the worlde one true and certaine daie of Easter, and vntill this presente daie they dispute of the reformation of the Calender taking counsaile of the Astrologers, but the matter is not yet decided: a worthe thinge doubt-
 lesse, for the whiche the Church should sustaine so great a losse for the obstinate Religion of one Romishe Pope.

Of Ceremonies. Cap. 60.

Of the members of Religion, the pompes of rites, and Ceremonies be not the least, in apparrell, in vessels, in lightes, in belles, in organs, in singing,

Cornelius Agrippa

in encensinge, in sacrifices, in gestures, in pretiouse pictures, in choise of meates and fastinge, and such thinges obserued with greate admiration and veneration of the ignoraunt people: and of men whiche haue no respecte of any thinge, but of suche as they haue befoze their eyes. Numa Pompilius was the firste that commaunded ceremonies to the Romans, that vnder their pretence or colour he might allure men to deuotion, faith, iustice, and religion, and moze easily gouerne the rude and fierce people, whiche had vsurped the rule of the Realme with force and iniurie: hereof beare witnesse the shieldes called Ancylia, and the Image of Pallas holy pledges of the Empire, Ianus with two faces, arbitratour of warre & peace, the fire of the Goddesse Vesta, whereof a Priestee keeper of the Emppire did continually take care, the yere diuided in xij. Monethes with the varietie of pleadable and vnpleadable dayes, the offices of priesthoope deuided into Bishoppes, Augures, and diuers manners of Sacrifices, of Prayers, Sights, Processions, Temples, and Offices: a greate parte of whiche as Eusebius testifieth passed afterwarde into our Religion also. Notwithstandinge God, who is not delighted with the fleashe, the bodie, & sensible signes, dothe despise, and refuse these outward and carnall Ceremonies. For God will not be worshipped in bodily actions, in sensible woorkes, and in carnall honour: but in spirite and truthe thoroowe Iesus Christe. For he hath a regarde vnto faith, he considereth the inward spirite, and the secretes of men, he is a searcher of hartes, that beholdeth the hidden partes of the minde. For the whiche cause these carnall and outward ceremonies cannot pricke men forward to God, who accepteth nothing, but faith in Christe with zealous imitation of him in charitee, and sure hope of saluation & rewarde. This is the true worshipping of God, & not defiled with any vncleannes of outward & carnall customes, the whiche Iohn teachyng saith: that God is a spirite, and

and they that will worſhippe him, muſte worſhippe him
in Spirit and truth. Some Pagane Philoſophers alſo
knewe this: for this cauſe Plato in the reuerence of the
great God willeth that all outwarde ceremonies ſhould
be taken a waie: and Hermes to Eſculapius ſaith: This
thinge is like to ſacrilege, when thou praieſt to God, to
burne incenſe, and ſuche like thinges. For he wanteth
no thinge, whiche is all thinges, and in him all thinges
are, but we geuen thanks oughte to worſhippe him.
Theſe be the greate incenſes of God, when manne geue
thanks to him. Furthermore we haue no thinge, whiche
we maie make more acceptable vnto God, then prayſe,
glorie, & thanks geuinge. Let none obiecte in this place
the Sacrifices of Moſes lawe, and the rites and ceremo-
nies of the ſame, as who ſaith God were delited in them.
He did not bringe them out of Egypte, to offer ſacrifice
vnto him, and burne incenſe, but hauinge forgotten the
idolatrie of the Egyptians to hire the voice of the Lorde,
and to obaye him in ſaith and iuſtice for their ſaluation.
But in that Moſes ordained ſacrifices and Ceremonies
for them, this he did to pleaſe their infirmitie and hard-
neſſe of harte, pardoninge their errour, that he mighte
withdraue them from diſhoneſt thinges, leaſt that after
the manner of the Gentiles they ſhoulde do ſacrifice to
Devils, and not to God. For the thinges were not prin-
cipally graunted, but accordyng to the conſequence or ſe-
quel: and that lawe coulde not binde him otherwiſe, but
as farre forth as it was allowed by the conſente of the
people. Yea & Moſes when he was minded to giue theſe
lawes of Ceremonies, he gotte the voices of the Elders,
and the people, to the ende he mighte haue them more
ſubiecte to him: & therefore that lawe mighte be chaunged
accordyng to the chaunge of times and thinges, and in
time to come vtterly diſannulled. But the lawe of God
whiche was giuen in Tables of ſtone, is perpetuall: for
ſo ſaide the Lorde by the mouth of Ieremie: to what ende

vvhy Mo-
ſes orday-
ned ſacris-
fices and
Ceremonies
for the Iſ-
raelites.

Cornelius Agrippa

do you bringe me encense from Saba, and Cinamon from
farre countries: Your burnt offerings and Sacrifices
do not delite me: And againe by the same he saithe: these
wordes saithe the Lorde: gather togeather your burnt
offerings, with your sacrifices, and eatc fleshe, because
I haue not hereof spoken to your Fathers, and in that
daie wherein I broughte them out of Egipte, I did not
commaunde concerninge burnt offerings nor sacrific-
ces, but I enioyned them these wordes, sayinge: Heare
my voice, and I wilbe your God, and you shalbe my peo-
ple: walke in all my waies, in all the thinges that I shall
commaunde you, and it shall turne you to good: And a-
gaine saithe the Lorde by the mouth of Isaie: thou haste
not offered vnto mee the sheepe of thy burnt offeringe:
nor hast thou made me lighte in thy sacrifices: thou haste
not serued me in thy sacrifices, nor haste endured any la-
bour in the encense: neither hast thou bought me encense
with monie, nor haue I desired the fatnesse of thy sacri-
fices, but with thy sinnes thou haste come in my pre-
sence. Upon whome therefore shall I looke (saith he) but
vpon a humble and quiete manne and that feareth my
wordes: For the fatnesse, & the fleshe shal take thy sinnes
from thee: the fasting which I haue chosen saith the Lord
is this: vndoe the knotte of vnrighteousnesse, dissolue the
bondes of violent bargeninge: suffer the traueilours to
reste, & cut in peeces al vniuste writinge. Giue thy breade
willingly to him which is hungrie: and receaue the
straunger into thy house, which hath no lodging. If thou
shalt see one naked, clothe him, and despise not them that
be of thy blonde: then thy mourninges light shall breake
out, & health shal soone grow vnto thee: iustice shall go be-
fore thee, and the glorie of God shall compasse thee about.
And when thou callest vpon mee, I will forthwith an-
swere thee, beholde I am present. I denie not that which
Moses and Aaron did in times past in the Sinagoge, and
by succession other Bishoppes, Judges and Prophetes,
euen

even vntil the Scribes and Phariseis, and so afterwarde
in the Churche that whiche was donne by the Apostles,
Euangelistes, Bishoppes, Priestes, and Doctoures, that
they mighte beautifie it as it were the spouse before the
husbande with certaine Godly ceremonies, trim rites &
institutions. They whiche came after, haue ordained ma-
ny Statutes and Decrees, accordinge to the imbecillitie
of men. But that which is wonte to happen oftentimes,
that that which hath bene prouided for a remedy tendeth
to anoyauce, so it doth befall that whilst these Lawes
of ceremonies did encrease the Christians were at this
daie burdened with more ordinaunces, then in time past
the Jewes were, and that which is more to be lamented,
when they are not good nor euil of themselues, the people
doth more trust in them, & obserueth them more straight-
ly, then the commaundementes giuen them from God,
whilst our Bishoppes and Priestes Abbotes & Monckes
make semblant as if they saw it not, which in the meane
season do chiefly prouide for their paſche. And albeit cer- Ceremonies
emonies haue caused no Heresies contrary to the faith, the cause of
yet they haue broughte in innumerable sectes into the sectes.
Churche, and haue ben the seedes of the greatest schismes.
For this cause the Graekishe Churche was firste seuered The cause
from our, because she did not consecrate in unleuened bread, why the
but in leuened, whereas notwithstandinge we confesse greekish
that shee dothe truely consecrate. Afterwarde also the Church is
Churche of the Bohemians reuolted, because shee did com- seuered
municate the Euchariste vnder bothe kindes. But if, as from our.
the Apostle saithe, circumcision be nothinge, but the kee-
pinge of Gods commaundementes: so the ceremonies al-
so are nothinge, but the obseruation of the precepts of the
Churche. It is therefore ill donne euery where to parte
the vniou of the Church, and to deuide the body of Christ
for euery smal and slender cause, whiche nothinge empai-
reth the Christian faith, and that for the whiche our Sa-
uour imbraideth the Phariseis, to streigne a gnatte tho-

cowe theire tēth and swallowe downe a Camel, & when the peace of the Church is troubled to strue about them, whereby the anoye of schisme doth moze endamage, then rebuke auaille. The Romaine Bishops might haue taken away many mischiefes, and haue kept the Church quiet and sounde, if they had suffered the leuen of the Grækes & the Chalice of the Bohemians. Neither are these things of greater importaunce, then that, which Innocentius the eight, (as Volaterrane saithe) graunted to the Danes, that they might Sacrifice the Chalice without Wine.

Of the Magistrates of the Church. Cap. 61.

There are mozeouer in the Church Magistrates, & diuers sectes of men, partly for the beautifyinge of Religion (as they say) partly for keepinge an order in holy thinges, lest there growe a confusion. But what so euer is don in the Church either for ornament, or for the edification of Religion, aswel in chusing Magistrates as in appointing ministers for y church, except it be done by the instincte of the holy spirite, who is as it were the soule of the Church: is vaine and wicked. For who so euer shall not be called by the sprite of God to the greate office of God, and to the Apostolike dignitie as Aaron was, and he that shal not enter thowwe the gate whiche is Christe, but by some other place shall climbe into the Church thowwe the windowe, thowwe the fauoure of men, thowwe voices bought, thoww the rule of princes, verply he is not the Vicar of Christe, and the Apostles but a thefe, and a robber, the vicar of Iudas Iscarioth and Simon the Samaritane. For this cause the aunciente fathers concerninge the election of prelates (whiche thinge the holy Dionysius calleth the Sacramente of naming or appointment) did so straightly ordayne, that the Bishops and Apostles, whiche did gouerne the ministeries in the Church, should be named men most perfect in manners
and

and life, able to render an accompte of euery thinge in
sounde learning: but after that the auncient ordinaunces
of fathers fell by little and little from their maiestie, and
the late spronge Popishe Authoritie with damnable cu-
stome waxed stronge, many suche Bishoppes & Apostles
haue climbed vp to the seate of Christ, like to the Scribes
and Phariseis in time paste, whiche sate vpon Moses his
chaire, whiche sate and doo not: laieing greuous burdens
vppon the shoulders of the people, and yet they will not
wagge theire finger, they are hypocrites and doo al their
worke, that they maie be seene of men: the winge their
religion in enterludes, they couet the chieffest places in
quire, in the Synagoge, in the Scholes, and euery where
in the stræte, they wilbe called Rabbi, Masters, and Do-
ctours: they shut heauen gates, and not entring in them-
selues doo also keepe other oute: they eate by Widowes
houses, makinge longe praiers, goinge about the sea and
the lande, they leade away and steale yonge childerne, to
the ende that hauinge founde one proselite or one newe
conuerted they may encrease their wicked number, and
that they past recovery and condemned to the fire of hell,
may with their inuentions, and preceptes destroy others
together with them, and corrupte the moste holy lawes
of Christe: not esteeming the true temple of God, and the
liuely Images of Christe and the Altars of the peoples
soules doo with a greedy eye regarde golde and offerings,
doing very light thinges, and as it were contrary to the
lawe, doo euery daie diligently inuente newe thinges of
tenthes, of collections, of offerings, and almesdeedes,
& straightly doo ordaine the lawes of ceremonies, tithing
corne, beastes, mony and the least thinges in valew also,
mintes, anise seede, cumine, and for these in manner of
dogges barking out of the pulpit doo strue with the peo-
ple. But doo vtterly neglect the weightiest and the beste
worke of the Gospel, of the lawe, & of Christian righte-
ousnesse, iudgemente, mercye, and faith, they streigne a
gnat

Cornelius Agrippa

gnat thoro we their teethe, & swallowe downe a Camell,
they stumbe at a strawe and leape ouer a blocke, blinde
guides, false and deceitfull, the generation of Vipers,
skowred cuppes, whited sepulcres outwardly shewing
holines in their Miters, in their cappes, in their rochets,
in their apparayle, in their hodes: within they are ful of
filthines, of hypocrisie, of iniquitie, whose hunters, daun-
sers, stage players, baudes or whare marchautes, disers,
glutons, drunkardes, paysoners, whiche (as Iohn Bishop
of Camota doth wel note) haue climbed and ascended not
by the vertue of their merites, but either by filthy flat-
tery, or by giftes, or by the fauour of Princes, or by force
of armes to Priesthoodes, Benefices, and Bishopricks,
or vnder the colour of Hypocrisie haue gotten these dig-
nities, heaping by riches for their priuate vse, of y goodes
of the Church, which belong to the poore, building faires
and markets in the almesse of oure parentes consuming
them afterwarde vpon howes, in disinge, huntinge, in all
luxuriousnes, and dishonestie.

They doo delite in horse and hownde,
and grasse of sunnie fiede.

They make commotions emonge the people, they bere
kingdomes, they make warre, they pul down Churches,
they builde Palaces: they go in garmentes of purple and
golde to the great hinderance of the common people, in-
samie of Religion and intolerable burden of the common
wealthe: whiche Saincte Barnarde of Cleare vales in the
oration that he made to the generall Councell at Rheins
in the presence of the Bishop of Rome, defined not hired
men in stee of shepherdes, not Wolves in stee of hired
men, but the Diuel in stee of Wolves. And also the Ro-
mische Bishop (whereof that holy Bishop of Camota doth
complaine) is very graeuous and intollerable to all men,
whose pompe and pride no tyraunt at any time hath sur-
passed: and notwithstandinge these doo auante that the
state of religion, and the Church doth depende vpon the
only

*The pride
of the Pope
intollerable*

onely, when they casting vpon others the burdens of Religion, and the worde of the Gospel, which is the proper dutie of Bishops, & busied in makinge particular lawes, do take the profite of the Church being at once both idle and wicked: and because (as they say) the pontificall seate dothe either rectifie Sainctes, or make Sainctes, for this cause they beleue that euery thinge is lawfull to them: so that impudently and very wickedly they abuse the holy Scriptures with dishoneste pleasure accordinge as they liste: as wee reade an example in Crinitus of Pope Bonifacius the eighte of that name againste Cardinall Porchetus. This is that Bonifacius, termed the great, because he made three greate and worthy thinges, the first was, that hauinge deceined Clemente, with a false oracle, persuaded him that he shoulde be Pope: the seconde, that he made the sixte booke of the Decretales, and affirmed the Pope to be lord over all: the thirde, he ordained the Iubilemus, the selling of Pardons, & was the first that stretched them out to Purgatorie. I let passe these other matters of y^e Romish Bishops, such as Pope Formosus was, and nine after him did very abhominablely gouerne the Church: I speake not of these latter sorte, of Paulus, Sixtus, Alexander, Iulius, famous disquietours of Christendome. I ouerpasse Eugenius, who for his othe broke with the Turke, set al Christendome in many most mortal battailes, as if promise shoulde not be kept with an enimie. Every man knoweth with howe greate damage of the Christian comon wealth Alexander the first poisoned Zizimus brother to Pazaipha king of y^e Turkes. And moreouer the Popes Embassadors (as the Bishop of Camota saith, & is most manifest by continual proufe) do other while make suche spoyle in Proutinces, as if Satan were sente from the face of God to scourge the Church, they disquiet and turne the earthe vpset downe, that they maye seeme to haue that whiche they ought to heale, they be gladd, when mischieses are don, reioycinge in wicked thinges.

Pope Bonifacius
face au-
thour of
three wic-
ked actes
and there-
fore was
called the
greate.

Eugenius
broke lea-
gue with
the Turke.
Alexander
the sixt poi-
soned the
King of the
Turkes his
brother.

Cornelius Agrippa

And scarcely can retain their teares

When nothing worthy is of teares.

For they eat the sinnes of the people : they be attired, feede, and liue riotously by them. They haue very effectuall titles for their vices, and nothing can be objected against them, whiche they do not very stedfastly excuse, and defende with the example of some Saincte.

For if they be imbrayded for their ignorance, and lacke of learninge, they will saye : that Christe did chuse suche Apostles which were not masters of the law, nor scribes, nor at any tyme haunted Scholes, nor Sinagoges: if the barbarousnesse of speache be imputed to them : they will alleadge Moses, whiche stammered, and Ieremie, whiche coulde not speake: & Zacharie also because he was dumble, was not excluded from priesthoope: and also if they shalbe reprovued of ignorance in the Scripture, and of infidelitie, or erreure, or heresie, they will saye : that Ambrose beinge not yet a Christian, but a gentill, was chosen Bishop: and that Paule not onely of an infidell, but also of a persecutour was called to be an Apostle, and that Augustine also was sometime a Manichie, and that the Martyr Marcellinus in his papacie did offerre incense to Idolles. And when they shalbe reprovued for ambition, they will geue vs for example the sonnes of Zebede : if of fearefulness, fearefull were Thomas and Ionas, the one fearinge to go to the Niniuites, and the other to the Indians, if of disloyaltie, Peter added periurie to disloyaltie : if of fornication, Oseas embraced a harlot, and Samson also: if of strikinge: if of manslaughter, if of the Arte of warre, Peter cut of Malcus eare : Martine was souldiære vnder Iuliane, and Moses slew an Egyptian, and hid him in sande. In so much that it maketh no matter among them, what manner of man he be that is made a Priest, and then it behoueth that euery man put his necke vnder the sword of these masters, I saye vnder the sword, not vnder the sword of the Word of God, whose keepers and Ministers

sters they ought to be, but vnder the sword of ambition, vnder the sword of couetousnesse, vnder the sword of condemnation, and extorcion, or raine, vnder the sword of naughty example, vnder the sword of bloude, & murder, wherewith they are armed against al truthe, iustice, and honestie.

All kingdomes force decaies, if that
respekte of honestie

Begins to breake due customes, and
doth cause truthe downe to lie.

A freedome to offende there is
whiche hated realmes maintaine,

And measure of the sword is gone
whiche quite shoulde sinne with paine.

It is not leessull without punishment to gaine saie their
decrees & ordinaunces, neither to withstande their carnal
appetite, except a man be ready to suffer Martyrdome for
Christe, this shalbe to be burned for an Hereticke, as it
chaunced in time passe to Ierome Sauonarola a diuine of
the preaching order, and a man whiche had the spirite of
Propheeie, who was burned in Florence, & to many other
godly Martyrs of late time. But because all power is
god, whiche cometh of God, from whome all thinges
come, and all good thinges, and albeit sometime they are
euill to them that vse and endure them, yet they are al-
wayes good to the whole worlde, he so prouidinge, which
bleth well our euils. For God hath sente tyrauntes ouer
vs for the multitude of offendours, and the sinnes of the
people cause that an hipocrite hath the gouernement. It
is then a worthy and a iuste thinge to obeye him, whiche
hath benne appointed Bishop in the Church by God, and
not to contrarye suche a one in any thinge. For he that di-
spiseth to obey the Bishop and Gods minister, dothe not
contemne him, but God, as he speaketh of the dispisers of
Samuell, sayeing, they haue not dispised thee, but me. And
Moses saithe againste the murmuringe people, you haue

Ierome Sa-
uonarola a
freere burn-
ed at Flo-
rence.

not murmured againſte vs, but againſte the Lorde God. He ſhall not therefore remaine vnreueged of the Lord, whiche hathe reſiſted againſte Goddes miniſter and his Church. Dathan and Abiron withſtoode Moſes, and the earthe ſwallowed them aline. Many togeather with Chore conſpired againſte Aaron, and they were conſumed with fire. Achab and Iſabel perſecuted the Prophets, and the Dogges deuoured them. There wente for the childzen to ſkorne Eliſeus, and Beares did rente them in peeces. Kinge Ozias preſuminge to vſurpe the Prieſthode againſte the Prieſte, became a leaper. Saul becauſe he preſumed to doe Sacrifice contrary to y wil of Samuell heade of the Prieſtes, was at one ſelfe time deſprued by God from the royall vncion and from the ſpirt of prophetic, and geuen to the wicked ſpirt. It is a Pagans propertie not to beleue the holpe Scripture, and a wicked thinge to diſpiſe Goddes miniſters.

Of the Sectes of Monkes. Cap. 62.

THere are alſo in the Church people of diuers ſortes, Monkes, Frærs, and Heremites, whiche were not in the olde Teſtament. The Church alſo was without them at that time, wherein it was beſte, and not entangled in ſo many rites of Ceremonies. The whiche at this daie doe onely chalenge to them ſelues the name of religiouse parſons profeſſinge ſtreight rules of liuinge, and moſte holy offices, bearinge the names of laudable men and moſte holy fathers, as of Baſile, Barnarde, Auguſtine, Benedicte and Fraunces, and ſuche like, but nowe a daies there are fewe or none good emonge them: but of the wicked the number is great. For hither they flocke as to a refuge of al wicked men, whom ſo euer the conſcience of miſchieuous deedes dothe put in feare: whiche for the puniſhmente of the lawe were ſaſte in no other place, whiche haue committed offences worthe of puniſh

*Wicked
men become
Monkes and
Frærs.*

punishment whome dishonestie of life hath made infamouse: whom debte and shamefull pouertie do compell to begge, when they haue spent their substance vpon horses, in dicing, and vpon the throte, and whom loyering, hope of idlenesse, and vnpatient desperation of de-
ceined luste, or youth put to wronge either by a wicked stepdame, or an vnjuste gardian haue bzinen hither: the
rable of all whiche is lincked togeather with fained ho-
linesse, with a hooded habite, and with valiaunt beggerie,
and with that greete sea, wherein togeather with other
fishes dwell Leviathan and Behemoth, vnmeasurable
Whales, beastes, and creeping wormes, whose number
is infinite: from whence leapte out so many Stoicall
Apes, so many presumptuous monie askers, so many
cloked beggeries, so many hooded mosters, with beards,
with coardes, with leather girdels, with sackes, with
corded shoes, with wooden shoes, with bare legges, at
tired in browne, in blacke, in grate, with the vppermoste
bestute white, with diuers colours, with many skinnies,
with garmentes of heampe, netted, cloked, girded, brea-
ched, and a greete companie of other suche players, who
when they haue no hope remayninge touching worldly
thinges, for the habite of their monstrous apparail di-
uine thinges are put into their handes, and at this vaise
in many countries they alone vsurpe the holy name of
Religion, and do boaste that they are the companions
of Christe, and fellow mates of the Apostles: whose life
ostentines is moste wicked full of couetousnes, of luxu-
riousnes, of gluttonie, ambition, of vndiscreetnesse, of
knauerie, and stozed with all kinde of mischiefe, but al-
waies unpunished for the pretence of Religion. For they
are defended with the priuiledges of y Romish Church,
and are exempte from the iurisdiction of all Churches, to
the ende they maie commit many knaueries and ribaul-
dries without daunger, and albeit they can euery where
cause others to come in iudgemente, yet they cannot be

The attire
of Freers.

The anau-
ring of
Freers.

Cornelius Agrippa

called sauinge either at Rome, or at Ierusalē. If I should write the errours & vanities of these men, all the skinnes of Madian woulde not suffice: of them I speake, whiche haue professed Religion not for godlinesse sake, but for loue of the bellie, haue put on a hooe. They are rauening Wolves vnder lambes skinnes, and vnder the coates of sheepe do in their hartes carrie the subtiltie of the wolfe: and do in suche sorte dissemble the skillfulnes of their deceite, that they seeme to professe nothinge els, but a certaine comicall Hipocrisie, and a mere gaine masked in the image of holinesse, whilest with pale countenance, they counterfaite fastinge, and hauinge alwaies teares in a readinesse they drawe deepe sighes from the harte: and wagging their lippes do faigne to saie prayers with an ordered pace, and caultme gestures:

VVith bowed head do looke downe to the ground. They chalenginge to them selues modestie, do openly professe vnder their colourable habite, humilitie, and vnder the cowle hanged at their necke, holynes: but within haue detestable manners: & albeit sometimes emonge these thinges they committe the horriblest sinnes that maie be, notwithstanding they are false, and do remaine conquerours, resistinge all the sharpe dartes of fortune with the cowle as it were with a bucklar, & assured from all worldly daungers, and ciuill trouble do eate idle breade, & begged in steede of that whiche is gotten with labours, sleepeinge at ease and without pensiuenes, and yet they thinke that this is the Euangelike pouertie: to liue in idelnesse, and beggerie, by other mens labours. And where as they professe greate humilitie goinge in a vile habite, bare legged as ruscals, netted as plaiers, girded with coardes as thieues taken: with shauen heades as ideotes, in their hooes made with eares & beset with belles much like to soles, and maskers on Shroffetues daie, and do auaunte that they haue taken vpon them al other signes of infamie & vilenesse, for the loue of Christe
and

and Religion, yet they are overcome with ambition, and referre all the manner of their ordinaunce to very arrogant titles, and glorie to be called Paranimphes, that is, mediatours in Mariage betwene man & wife, Rectors, Guardians, Presidentes, Priours, Vicars, Provincials, Abbotes, and Generals: that no kinde of men seemeth to be so desirouse of the chiefeft place, as this.

Of the whoorishe Arte. Cap. 63.

Moreouer then this, because among the Egyptians the firste authours of Religion, there coulde no Priest be made, which had not bene firste instructed and trained in the Sacrifices of Priapus, and it is revealed in the Romishe Church, that he whiche hath no stones, cannot be Pope, and they whiche wante their stones, Eunuches, & gelded men are forbidde to be made Priestes: and commonly we see wheresoever these sumptuous Churches and Colledges of Priestes and Monkes are, for the most parte there be at hande brothell houses: and also very many houses of Nunnes and Beguines be as it were priuate stews of harlottes, whiche we know also that Monkes and religious persons (least their chastitee should be defamed) haue oftentimes maintained in monasteries vnder a Monkes hode and mans apparail. I thinke it not against order in this place to ioyne a discourse of the whoorishe Arte, the whiche many passinge wise men haue thought not onely profitable, but necessarie also for the gouernaunce of a well framed common wealthe. For that Noble Solon, whiche made lawes to the Athenians, and iudged by the Oracle of Apollo one of the seven sages (as witnesseth Philemon and Menander) provided for yonge men boughten harlottes, & was the first that dedicated the temple of Venus Pandemus of the imprisoninge of women whiche were in the stews, he ordained brothel houses, he made a lawe, and established it also.

*Vvhoores much reue-
renced in
Greece.*

*Vvhoores praied to
Venus for
the Corin-
thians.*

*Aristotle
did sacrifi-
ce to a
whoore.*

*A damna-
ble custome
of the Bas-
bilonians.
The strump-
pet Aspasia
and her wo-
me causers
of the Pe-
loponensian
warre.*

*The moste
filthy vsa-
ges of He-
liogabalus.*

It also with libertie geuen vnto common women. And
whores were had in so greate reuerence in Greece, that
when Perles made warre againste the Grekes, the
whores of Corinth wente to praye in y^e temple of Venus
for the salsetie of Greece. The Corinthians also had this
custome, that when they would make humble request to
Venus for any thinge, that was comitted vnto whores.
There were very many temples for whores builded in
Ephesus: and an other famous one did the Abidens erect,
which by the meanes of a whore recovered their losse li-
bertie. Furthermore the wise Aristotle doubted not that
whores were worthe of diuine honours, when he did
sacrifice to Hermia his womā, as to Ceres of Eleusis. The
invention of this Arte is attributed vnto Venus, whiche
therefore was reckoned in the number of the Goddesses.
For she beinge vnchaste, and occupied in all Luxurious-
nes, taught the women of Ciprus to please menne with
their bodie for monie. Whereof grewe a custome in Ci-
prus as Iustine dothe recompte, that befoze the time of
Marriage their maidens were set open to euery man that
came by the sea side to gaine their dowrie: and to paye
the first frutes of their chastitie to Venus. The Babilo-
nians also, as Herodotus testifieth, obserued a custome,
that they, whiche had consumed their substance, should
procure their daughters to get monie with their bodie.
And Aspasia Socrates his strumpette, as Atheneus wit-
teth, filled all Greece with whores: for whose loue, and
her women seruantes rauished by the Megarensians, as
Aristophanes saith, Pericles made the Peloponensian
warre. The Emperour Heliogabalus did much comende
this whorish Arte, who as Lamprichus testifieth, ordai-
ned stews in his house for his Friends, Clientes, and
Seruantes: and made them a very great bankette of xxiij.
sortes of meates: but vnder condition y^e they which were
bidden shoulde at euery dishe that came to the table vse
the companie of women and washe: & they were bounde
by an

by an othe, that they shoulde accomplishe this pleasure: oftentimes also he redeemed whores of all the barbares that were, and did set them at libertie, amonge whome it is reade that he redeemed one very faire and beautifull whore for xxx. pounce waight of siluer: it is also reported that on a daie he wente to al the Harlottes that were in the place called Circus, in the Theater and Amphitheater, and in all places of the Citie, & gaue to eache of them a Ducate. Sometimes also he assembled together in the common Palace al the whores from the place called Circus, from the Theater and Amphitheater, from exercise, and from all places and baines, and there he made vnto them an Oration, as it were vnto Souldiars, callinge them his fellowe Souldiars, and disputed of the kindes of figures and pleasures, and after the Oration, he caused three Ducates to be geuen to eache of them, as if they had bene Souldiars. And he did not onely graunte pardon, but libertie also to the Romane Matrones that woulde become whores: and appointed salarie and wages for whores out of the common treasure. Also he published certaine amorous and whorish decrees, and commanded them to be called Semiramida after the name of his mother or wife: he inuented moreouer other kindes of sensualitye, in the which he surpassed the measures of one Cirena a very vn honest woman (which being called Dodecamechana, because shee had deuised twelue measures in the Venerian acte, by the which her friende might take greater pleasure, was surnamed the goulfe of vnlaefull luste) and did passe all the Auncient Tribadens, Hostiens, Aphiens, Spinetriens, Gasaluadens, Casaritens, and other women of dishonest places. I let passe Iuda the Isralite a Patriarke and a whore hunter, and Sampson iudge of the people of God, who had no wife but queanes: and Salomon the moste wise Kinge of the Jewes, who, as it is said, had flockes of queans almost innumerable: I speake not of Caesar the Dictatour a very worthe man for this:

Whores
the souldi
ers of He-
liogabalus.

Cornelius Agrippa

called husbände of all women: noz of Sardaniapalus the Monarke of the Babilonians, and of other most mightie defendours of queanes in number infinite: and the Emperour Proculus also gotte no small glozie by this Arte, who (as his Epistle to Metianus doth testifie) of the hundred Sarmatian maydens, whiche he tooke, did the first night bereue x. of them of their virginité, and deflowered the residue within xv. daies. But that is muche moze which the Poetes speake of Hercules, that he made fiftie maidens, women in one night. Theophrastus also a substantiall authour dothe recompte, that there is founde a certaine Hearbe in India of so great vertue, that one after he had eaten it, fulfilled Venus pleasure thre scoare and ten times. Moreouer then this Sappho the poetresse ennamored with Phaon, and Leontinum Metrodus concubine very well learned in Philosophie, did not a little set forth this Arte: in so muche that she wrote booke againste Theophrastus, in the maintenaunce of whoredome against Marriage. Emonge these is Sempronia husbanded passingly wel skilled in the Greeke and the Latine.

*A constant
Concubine.*

*Rhodope
famous
whoore.*

Neither is Leena the Concubine of Aristogenes the Athenian, to be overpassed in this place, as a woman of moste constant faith: who beinge tormented by tirauntes, to the ende she might bewraie her frinde, with obstinate silence endured all tormentes. Moreouer Rhodope the whoore, fellow seruante, and companion with Escop the fable teller in time past made this Arte notable, whiche gotte so muche riches with her bodie, that she built a Piramis the thirde in order emonge y marueilous sightes of the worlde. Thais of Corinth cometh nexte after this, who being famous for the singularité of beautie, vouchsafed not to receaue none but Kinges and Princes. But Messalina wife of the Emperoure Claudius chiefly honored this Arte, who visitinge the stews, did excede the noblest wenche of the companie in the daie, and nighte more then xxv. times, and so departed from the menne

tyred,

tyred, but not satisfied. To whome we maie adiougne of
 fresher memorie Ioane the renowned Quene of Naples,
 and many other Quenes whiche were queanes, & court-
 ly callets, if it were no daunger to name them, although
 they be very well knowen by common reporte, notwith-
 standinge in this pointe differinge from other whores,
 that contrary to Heliogabalus lawe, not in comon stetes
 as that Emperesse Messalina: but in chambers secretely do
 accomplishe their desire, and as it were in a priue place
 do plaie the whores. We maie also annere to this
 place bothe the Iulias, the daughter and nice of Octavius
 Augustus, Populca, and Cleopatra Quene of Egypte,
 and other moste notable whores: and recite also very
 auncient examles of the fleshly luste of Semiramis the
 Monarke, and Pasiphae: the firste of whiche burned in so
 greate desire: that not onely shee did sollicite and procure
 her owne Sonne to fulfill her inordinate luste: but also
 was enamored of a Horse, and vsed him in steede of a
 man: the other wise to Kinge Minos vnderlaide herselfe
 to a Bull. We will not here make a rehersall of famous
 strumpetes: but this is not to be concealed, that carnall
 copulation with whores and adulterers hath engendred
 vs personages of greate brute and renowne, as Hercu-
 les, Alexander, Ismael, Abimelech, Salomon, Constan-
 tine, Clodoue Kinge of Fraunce, and Theodoricke the
 Gothe, VVilliam conquerour, Raimire of Arragon. But
 of the Kinges, that raigne and gouerne at this date, ve-
 ry fewe are bozne of laefull Mothers, and the lawes of
 Matrimonie are so little esteemed emonge them, that
 they at their pleasure do deuorce, chaunge, & exchange
 their married, lawfull and very wiues: and semblably
 they ioygne and reioygne their Sonnes, and Daugh-
 ters in so many Mariages and Matrimonies, that we are
 constrained not to knowe whiche is their true and law-
 full Matrimonie. There are many examles hereof, but
 some, which haue hapned a fewe yeares past, be sufficient

A matter
 vnlkely not
 withstan-
 ding men-
 tion hereof
 is made in
 Authours,

for all. Did not Ladislaus kinge of Polande, after he had taken Beatrice to wife, by whom he had the Kingdome of Hungarie, at length abandoninge her, toke in her place a French concubine: Did not Charles the eighth, kinge of Fraunce forsakinge Margarite the daughter of Maximilian the Emperoure take a waie his wife by force, and ioygned her to him in Matrimonie: whiche woman after him Lewes the twelste, forsakinge his wife in like manner, toke in marriage, the Bishoppes and Archebishops consentinge thereunto, and helpinge him, to whome it seemed good, that they shoulde more esteeme the lawes to winne Britaine, then the lawes to obserue lawfull matrimonie. And at this present I vnderstande, that a certaine kinge is perswaded I know not yet what he is, that it is laefull for him to dismisse his wife for more then xx. yeares, and marrie a concubine. But lette vs resourne to whores and speake more of them, theire Artes whoso desireth to knowe, that is to witte, after what sorte they doe abandone their chastitee to euery man that will companie with them, with what wanton looke, with what manner of countenance, with what gesture of bodie, with what sweete and flatteringe wordes, with what dishoneste handlings, with what apparayle and outward polishinge they entice lasciuiose persons, and other wiles & deuites of the whoreshe Arte, lures, snares, & craftes, let him seeke them in comicall Poetes. But he that desireth to knowe with what facion, with what delectation, with what earnest lookinge, with what talke, with what kisses, with what cullinges, with what kindnesse, with what touchings, with what gentle pressings, with what rubbings, with what wrestlings, with what lyinge, with what wizinge, with what mouinges, with what thrusting, with what entertayninge, with what prolonginge of pleasure, with what turninge backe, with what renewinge the whoreshe pastime should be accomplished, he shall finde it written in booke of Physicke.

sicke. Antiphanes, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Calistratus haue moreouer writen booke of whores: but particularly Cephalus the oratoure hathe writen the prayes of the harlotte Lais, and Alcidas wrote in commendation of Nais a woman of the same profession. Of dishonest loues haue writen aswel Grekes as Latins, Callimachus, Philotes, Anacreontes, Orpheus, Alceon, Pindarus, Sappho, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Virgill, Iuuenall, Martiall, Cornelius Gallus, and many other, which haue not onely shewed themselves Poetes, but bawdes also: but Ouide in his heroicall Epistles and in his writings to Corinna: but especially in his booke of the arte of loue: which more truly he should haue entituled of the art of whoredome, or bawdzie: for the publishinge of whiche booke, bicause he had corrupted youth with his vnchaste instructions, he was worthely bannished by Octavius Augustus as farre as Doscouie. Archilachus the Lacedemonian also caused in times paste all booke of loue to be burned: and notwithstandinge this Arte is now a dayes reade of vs: and schole masters reade it to their schollers, and doe expound it writinge thereupon very wicked commentaries: but which is more, I haue newly sene and reade a booke written in the Italian tongue, intituled La Cortigiana, and printed in Venice, a Dialogue of the Arte of Whores, most dishonest of all others in both Veneries, most worthy to be burned togeather with his authoure. I leaue here to speake, and that aduisedly of the abhominable lecherie of the Sodomites: albeit the greate Aristotle dothe commende it: and the Emperour Nero did honour it with publike matrimonie, at that time, wherin Paule the Apostle writinge to the Romans threathned for these things the displeasure of almighty God. For the Lord wil raise vpon them snares, that they maye not escape, fiere, sulphure, and the spirit of stormes shalbe part of their cuppe. The Emperoure commaundeth that the lawes shoulde arise, and iustice shoulde be armed againste those: and

Cornelius Agrippa

willeth that after straight punishment they shoulde be beheaded, but nowe adayes they are burned: which luxuriousnes Moses hath thought meete in his Lawes that it be rooted out with cruel punishments: and Plato forbiddeth it his common wealth, & cōdemneth it in his lawes. The auncient Romaines also (as Valerius and others testifie) did very seuerely punish it. Examples hereof were Quintus Flaminius, and that tribune which Celius slew, but hauinge respect to honest eares, let vs leaue to speake of this monstrous lust, and beastly vncleanesse, and retourne to whores. For this sensualitie is noysome to all men, and there is none whiche sometimes hath not felte the fiere thereof: but after one sorte the women be enflamed, after an other the men: after one sorte yonge men, after an other, old men: after one facion the comminalty, after an other, the nobles: after one manner the poore, after an other the riche, and that whiche is most to be wondered at, according to the variety of nations and contries, after one manner the Italians, after an other the Spaniards, other wise the Frenchemen, other wise the Germans: the flaminge fiere of lawlesse lust in suche sort chu-

The manner of al sortes of men in pleasing their Ladies singe diuers manners of madnesse according to the difference of euery kind, age, dignitie, estate, and cuntry: the loue of men is very seruente, but that of the women is very obstinate: the loue of yonge men is wanton, and of old men to be laughed at, the poore endeuoureth to please with humble seruice, the rich with giftes, the comminaltie with bankettinge, the nobles & gentlemen with glorious sightes, and plaies. The witty Italian dissembling his loue assaileth the womā beloued with a certaine prepared wantonnesse, he prayseth her in witten verses, and preferringe her before all other doth extoll her to the heauens: if a ielouse man obtaine her, he shutteth her vp perpetually, and setteth watchmen to keepe her, as if she were a prisoner: if he disapointed of his loue shalbe in despaire euer to winne her, geuinge him selfe to reprocheful language

The manner of the Italian in winninge his Ladye.

The Italian in his ielousie keapeth his Ladie vnder locke.

language, doth detest her with infinite railing & slanderous wordes. The vnadulst Spaniarde is vnpatient in burning loue, berpe madde, with troubled lasciuiousnes he renneth furiously, and with pitiefull complaintes bewayling his serueut desire, doth cal vpon his ladie and worshipping her, at length being wahren ieolous doth either kill her, or hurting her, maketh her common for euery man for made: if he be constrained to despaire to enioye her, he tormenteth him selfe exceedingly, and cholet to dye. The lasciuious Frenchman endeuoureth to serue, he seeketh to pleasure his woman with songes, and discourses, if he fall in ielousie, he sorrowfully lamenteth: if he be decciued, he reuileth her: he threatneth reuengment, and offereth violence: if he obtaine her, at length he discipeth her, and falleth in loue with an other: The colde Germane is enamored by little & little: being enamored, he instantly requireth w Arts & enticeth her with gifts: being in ielousie, he doth withdrawe his liberalitie: being deprived of his expectation, he esteemeth her not, hauing obtained her, his heat allwageth. The Frenchman saigneth to loue, the Germane cloketh his loue, the Spaniarde perswadeth him selfe that he is loued: the Italiane cannot loue without ielousie. The Frenchman loueth a pleasaunte wenche, although shee be fowle: the Spaniarde esteemeth a faire woman more then any other, although shee bee rude: the Italian had liefer haue a woman that is somewhat feareful: the German coueteth her that is somewhat hardie: the Frenchman thoroowe obstinate loue becommeth of a wise man a fowle: the German after that he hath spent al his substance in loue, at length he is made wise, but too late. The Spaniarde for desire to please his beloued woman attempteth great enterprises: the Italian to obtayne his lady, putteth himselfe in very greate daungers. But which is more the greatest menne also snared in the passions of these loues, and lustes, not seldome do little esteeme and waigh many worthy enterprises,

The manner
of the span-
niarde.

The ielous
spaniarde
killeth her
whome he
looueth in
his ielousie.

The manner
of the French
man.

The French-
man in ie-
lousie lame-
teth.

The manner
of the Ger-
mane.

The German
in his ielou-
sie withdra-
weth his
liberalitie.

Vvhat wo-
men the
Frenchman,
Spaniarde
the Italiane
and the Ger-
mane chiefly
lie extreme.

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princes, such as were in time past Mithridates in Pontus, Annibal in Capua, Caesar in Alexandria, Demetrius in Græce, Antonie in Egypt: Hercules ceased in times past from his labour for Iole: Achilles refused to fight for the love of Brises: Circes stayed Vlysses, Claudius died in prison for Virginias sake: Cesar was retained by Cleopatra, and the same woman was the destruction of Antonie.

The holy Scriptures doe declare, that for the fornication of the sonnes of Seth with the daughters of Caine well neare all mankinde was destroyed by the floude: for the outragiousnes of fornication, Sichen, the house of Emor, and wel neare al the Tribe of Beniamine were brought to ruine, howe often were the people of Israel stricken, and brought into bondage for the fornicatio of straunge women: And mozeouer what great mortality was made by pestilence, famine, and the sword for the onely adultery of King Dauid: For the laweles love and ravishing of women, The Thebans, the Phocenses, and the Circeans were vanquished and conquered, and the Peloponensiane warre (as wee haue sayd) was enterprised by Pericles, and with x. yeares warre Troye was rased to the ground, with a very great damage to al Græce and Asia: For the like causes, Tarquinius, Claudius, Dionysius, Hannibal, Ptolomee, Marcus Antonius, Theodorus, Gothus, Rodericus, Longobardus, Childericus the Frenchman, Aduincaus the Boemiane and Manfredus the Neapolitane, suffered death & a destruction of their contrie. For the cause of Cana Iulia daughter to the gouernoure of the prouince Tingitana beinge defloured by King Rodericus, after the Gothes were driue out, the Saracens possessed the whole country of Spaine. These wiues Clitemnestra, Olimpia, Laodicea, Beronica, Frigiobunda, & Blanch both Quænes of Fraunce, and Ioane of Peaples and many other being inroth for the fornication of their husbandes, slew them. The same cause procured Medea, Pogne, Ariadna, Althea, and Herestilla, the motherly love beinge chaunged into hatred

hatred cruelly to murder their own sonnes. And in these latter times, many other women haue reuenged the lecherous life of the husbandes vpon the childe: and of most gentil mothers became most cruel Medeas, furious Althees, and vnmmerciful Heristillees.

Of Bawdrie. Cap. 64.

But because thow we the mocion, counsaile, & meanes of Ruffians, or Bawdes and bawdzesses, whores, and whore hunters for the moste parte do commit theire mischeiuous deedes, let vs prosecute the Arte of Bawdzie. For as brothelrie is the Arte of abandoninge the proper chastitie to all men, so Bawdzie is the arte of assaultinge and makinge common an others chastitie: whiche is so muche greater then the worlthe Arte, as it is wickedder: so muche stronger, as the thinge is accompanied with the garde of many Artes: but so muche more pestilent as it comprehendeth many disciplines of other artes, and sciences, which creeping in like spiders, draweth out al Artes and disciplines, what venime so euer is in them, with whiche they weaue their weapons. Not suche as the cobwebbes are, which letting birdes escape, take nothings but flies, nor also suche as these greate nettes of hunters be, whiche take the greate beastes and let escape the little and craftier vermine: but knitteth snares so stronge and so sure, that there is no mayde, nor wife, so simple or aduised, so constaunt or obstinate, so shamefast, or fearful, so great or little, which, if she once giue eare to the bawde, is not by and by taken, and entrapped. The subteltie is suche, which no womans wisdom can withstande, from whose snares no maiden, no matrone, no widowe, no not the blessed Nunne can escape harmelesse. Whose vnarmed fight vanquisheth the chastitie of manie more women, then anye armie at any time howe greate so euer it were. The fallsetes, de-

Cornelius Agrippa

*A bawde must
be stilled in all
things.*

*Grammar re-
quired in baw-
die.*

secrete Writing

*Steganographie
a marueilous
kinde of wri-
tinge but not
commonlye
knowne.*

*Poetrie needfull
in bawdie.*

ceites, willnesse, sinesse, and craftes thereof are suche, that no pen can write nor any witte is able to counteruaile. And albeit this Arte hath very many professors of bothe kindes, yet it hath made very few perfect masters: and no maruaile. For sithe that there are so many sortes of bawdzies, as of artes and disciplines, therefore without the knowledge of al thinges it cannot be brought to perfection. It behoueth then that a perfecte and absolute bawde and bawdesse be skilled in all thinges, and not to looke vpon one discipline alone, as vpon the North starre, but that he vnderstande all, whiche professeth that arte, whereupon all other disciplines do attende and wayte. For all sciences do as it were serue bawdzie. For first of al Grammar, the discipline or science to write and speake geueth amorous letters: & teacheth them to speake with fayned salutations of loue, prayers, lamentations, and flattering wordes: many examples of whiche haue leste vnto vs of the latter writers Eneas Syluius, Iames Caniceus, and many others. But there is an other kinde of Grammer, of the manner and waye to write secretly, as wee reade in Aulus Gellius, of Archimedes of Syracusis: Of the whiche cunninge a fewe yeares paste Trithemius Abbot of Spanheim, wrote two wittie volumes: the one he entituled Polygraphia, that is, manifolde writing, the other Steganographia, that is, secrete writinge: in this seconde booke he hath taught so sure and secrete customes and manners to discouer the conceites of the minde, how farre so euer it be, whiche neither the iecolousie of Iuno, whiche knoweth al thinges, neither the straight keeping of Danaes maye resiste, nor the watchefulnes of Argus with his hundrethe eyes may espie. An Arte doubtlesse not so needefull for Kinges, as moste commodious for bawdes and all louers. Next to this Poetrie commeth in place, which with wanton rithmes, fables, and pastoral songs of loue, Epigrams, letters, instructions, comedies, and dishonest verses, taken out of the moste secrete armorie

armarie of Venus, and practising bawdrye turneth al chastitie vpslet downe, and corrupteth the good disposition & manners of youth. Wherefore the Poetes haue alwayes bene the chiefest bawdes, of the whiche number emonge the auncientes they were beste learned, whiche we haue befoze recited in the whorish Arte: Callimachus, Philetas, Anacreontes, Orpheus, Pindarus, Alceon, Sappho, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Virgil, Ouide, Iuuenall, Martiall, And there are at this day Poetes, which write most pestilent verses. After these the Oratours clayme not the lowest place emonge bawdes, the Artificers of deceitfull flatteries and persuations, and thae is the happiest bawdresse, to whome the Goddesse Persuation is fauourable. Pet the Historians stande aboue these, they especiall ye, which haue writen histories of loue, of Lancilot, Tristram, Eurialus, Pelegrinus, Calisthus, & such like, in which maidens from tender yeares be instructed, and accustomed to fornication and adulteries. There is founde no stronger ingine to batter the honestie as well of wedded wiues, as the chastitie of vnmarried maydes and widowes, then the reading of wanton histories: there is no woman of so good disposition, that herewith is not corrupted, and I woulde thinke it a miraele, if there be founde any, either woman or mayde, of so perfecte chastitie or honestie, whiche with such readings and histories of straunge lust, is not oftentimes enflamed euen vnto fury. And notwithstanding y damsell, which in these bookes is very well learned, & can aptly tell euery one of them, & of their doctrine can trimly talke a long time with their suters, she onely is esteemed a good courtier. There haue bene many bawdy Historiographers, whose names are little knowne: many famous writers beside haue endeouored the same, as emonge the of latter time, Eneas Syluius, Dante, Petrarcha, Boccace, Pontane, Baptiste of Campofregoso, and an other Baptiste of the Albertes a Florentine, Peter Hede also, & Peter Bembus, James Caniceus, & James Calandra of Mantua, & many

Oratorie necessarie for bawdrie.

Certaine histories more meete for bawdrie then Oratorie.

Wanton histories much hurtfull.

A goodly courtier.

Cornelius Agrippa

*Logicke helpeth
bawdrie.*

*The Mathema-
ticals available
to bawdrie.*

*Dauſinge pro-
feth bawdrie*

*meete
Geometrie ie.
for bawdr*

*Paintinge cau-
seth fleſhly luſte.*

other: amonge which notwithstanding Iohn Boccace paſ-
ſing al the reſt, hath wonne himſelfe the price or palme of
bawdes chieflie in thoſe booke, whiche he entituled Le
cento Nouelle: whose examples, & doctrines, are nothinge
els, but very ſubtil deceites of bawdzies. Nowe when a
ſhamefaſt, and feareful woman ſul of honeſtie & religion
ſhoulde be aſſaulted: howe great helpe do the ſubtilties of
Logicke then giue to bawdzies, the fable of Mirrha in
Ouide doth manifeſtly declare. Emog the Mathematicall
diſciplines alſo, the plaies of Arithmetike are fit for baw-
dzies: & Muſicke is not y leſt ſeruaunt of bawdzies, which
inflaming ſeruent deſire with the ſweetnes of voyce, per-
ſtilent ſonges, and pleaſaunt harmonie of inſtruments,
dothe ſoften the minde making it effeminate, diſtaineth
manners, and moſte ſtrongly, enkindleth the affections
and deſire of fleſhly luſt. Nexte after this cometh in place
the commoditie of dauſinge, where it is lawfull for one
to ſpeake freely with his beloued, to touche, to kiſſe, to
gripe with vnchaſt handes, whom he luſteth, and often-
times goeth into a corner. The Geometricall Architec-
t alſo hath in bawdzie wherewith to be occupied, who with
a ladder made of ropes, or with ſome other climbing en-
gine goeth in the night thoroꝝwe a gutter or windowe to
companie with his Ladye, and with counterſeite keyes
& ſuch like, as Dedalus wrought for Paſiphae, doth pleaſe
aduoutrous inclinations. In pictures alſo, women which
cannot reade, do geather more by them, then other ſee in
writting, whileſt that in their chamber on euery ſide they
beholde laſciuous and wanton things to prouoke them,
and no leſſe the mind is corrupted by the eyes, then by the
eares, for theſe do ſo much perce the minde as the other, &
do no leſſe allure men to fleſhly luſte with wanton ima-
ges, then with the preſence of thinges: herof doth teſtifie
Venus Gnidia, y worke of Praxitiles deſloured in y temple,
and Cupide wrought by the ſame engraouer, corrupted by
Alchida a yong man of Rhodes: and the image of fortune,
whereof

whereof Eliane maketh mention, was so feruently loued
of an Athenian yonge man, y when he coulde not buye it
for mony, died by it: Terence also in Enochus bringeth in
a yonge man enflamed to lust, when he had scene a table,
wherein was described, howe Iupiter descendinge in a
golden shower defloured Danae: and therefore Aristotle
not without a cause doth appointe an open punishment
for painters, whiche set suche thinges befoze the eyes of
the multitude, thozowe whiche carnall lust is set on fire.
And not without deseruinge the wise man saithe, that
the Artes of paintinge and engrauinge were inuented
for the temptation of mens soules, to deceaue the igno-
rant, and to corrupte mans life. Nowe the Astrologers,
the Palmesters, the Geomancers, the interpreters of
Dreames, the Fortune tellers, the Soothsayers, the Au-
gures, and other sortes of diuinours come in place, all
whiche doinge the duetie of bawdes, with theire craftie
deuises, and deceites of subtile finesse do promise vnho-
nest loues, and oftentimes purchase them, make mosse
wicked mariages, and moze then often do turne matri-
monie into adulterie. Of these bawdes not onely wo-
men, but whiche is moze shamefull, men also do aske ad-
uise touchinge theire loues and mariages: and conceiue
an hope to obtaine the mayden whome they loue, and ac-
cordinge to theire counsaile, not so fonde as wicked, do
lincke or exempte them selues fro wedlocke. Many moze-
ouer haue benne induced to so perruisshe incredulitie, that
they beleue loue maie be caused & constrained by meanes
of Astrologicall images, and obseruations of howers:
as Virgill, Catullus, Ouide, Horace, Lucane, and many
other bablinge Poetes haue written: and the Astrolo-
gers them selues no lesse Fabulouse then Poetes, haue
written rules in their booke of Elections, with whiche
one seruice of bawdrie, al Astrologers, & diuinours make
no small gaine: nexte vnto which Magicke dothe present
her selue as healer.

A younge man
died for the loue
of a Picture.

Aristotle thinke
keth good that
Painters be pun-
ished, whiche
make lasciuious
Images.

Other Artes
tendinge to the
perfection of
bawdrie.

Cornelius Agrippa

VVhich promisse doth to loose and binde
the mindes of menne with charmes,
VVhich shee doth please, and eke on some
to sende full manie harmes.

Lucane also speaketh hereof in this manner :

Loue not by chaunce allotted vnto me hath perste
my harte,

By charmes of *Theffall* Dames whiche worke my
woe, and cause my smarte.

And in Horace, Candidia, in Apuleius, Pamphile inchaun-
tresses, binde their louers, and in the Tragicall comedie
of Callistus, Celestina the baudzesse enflameth the maiden
Melibea. To these are added witchecraftes, charmed
drinckes, and amorous porcions, but verie perilous, that
oftentimes in steede of loue, they bzinge deathe, or some
greuous sickenesse. Thow the drinckinge of these died
Lucullus, and Lucretius also, but in space of time he losse
his witte and vnderstandinge. It is witten of a certaine
woman, whiche with an amorous drinke killed a man,
whome the Arcopagites pardoned, because shee had com-
mitted it by reason of loue: but there is no Arte more
meete for balwdrie then *Phisicke*, which easely obtaineth
carnal desire of what maide soeuer shee be, whilest that it
promiseth to restore virginitee at the time of Mariage, to
let the pappes fro growinge great, to keepe y belly in one
state, geuing remedies to cause barraineesse, wherby plea-
sure mate be taken saldy & for a longe season, *Sine quassata
spina conceptum semen eicere docens*, as Lucretius saith:

Idq, sui causa consuerunt scorta mouere,

Ne complerentur crebro, grauida q, iacerent.

Et simul ipsa viris Venus vt concinnior esset.

By the whiche onely benefite of *Phisitions*, many *Ma-
trones*, *Maldens*, and courtly Dames, doe with salstie
take delife: the starchinge of olde ruines, and other coun-
terfette colouringes of shameles women, which are wri-
ten & taught euery where in booke of *Phisicke*, entrea-
tinge

The death of
Lucullus and
Lucretius.

Phisicke of all
other Artes
meetest for
balwdrie.

tinge of beautifyinge, wherewith they make the damnable marchandise of Harlottes more saleable: and therefore the holy Scripture termeth them ointmentes of whores, and with these many other receites, which prouoke to lawlesse luste, by the meanes of such like things, Ouide auauanted that he tooke his pleasure nine times: and Theophrastus hath leste written that there is founde a certaine Hearbe, whiche extendeth the strength to the thre scoze and tweluth carnall incounter. And to tell the truthe there is no bawdie more meete and convenient, then that which is handled vnder the pretence or colour of Physicke, for there are no houses so close, no Monasteries so stronge, no prisons so well kepte, whiche do shut out the bawdie Whisition: by whome (as Plinie witnesseth) adulteries haue benne committed, yea in the houses of Princes, as of Eudemus with Liuia the wife of Drusus, and of Vectius Valentinus with Messalina, wife of Claudius. And Aristippus maister of the Cyrenaickes, forbiddeth that none should thinke Philosophers vnprofitable for bawdie, who beinge often conuersant with other suters in the house of Thais the famousse strumpet, made his boaste that he onely had Thais at commaundement, whereas other were at her commaundement: and whilest other consumed their substaunce vpon her, he tooke his pleasure for nothinge. After this sorte the harlotte had that Philosopher for her bawde, by whose example and authoritie shee allured all younge men vnto her: neither was Aristippus content, to shewe him selfe a bawde to a whore, but also began publikely to teache sensualitees, and transposed them out of the stews into the schooles. Very many handicraftes moreouer supplie the place of bawdie, emonge whiche embroderie, spinninge, knittinge, sowinge, and other womanlike exercises be chiefe, vnder the colour of which whilest that bawdresses carrie aboute flare, threede, headbandes, catwles, garters, girdles, purses, gloues, of younge whores in time

Bawdie vnder the colour of Physicke is the beste.

Aristippus his auauante.

Handicraftes for the most are necessarie for bawdrie.

Cornelius Agrippa

*Laundresses and
begger women,
vse oftentimes
bawdie practi-
ses.*

time passe become now olde bawdie pedlers, and doe ea-
sily allure soft maydens with these trifles, and take oc-
casion to speake vnto them: to whome also laundzesses be
a helpe, which fræly maie enter into the house, and in the
absence of the mothers, carrie with them the doughters
and the woman seruauntes to washe: there be also beg-
ger women, whiche stande at the gates for deuotion of
Almesse, they bzing and recarrie embassages and letters
full of bawdzie.

And carrie giftes vnto the wife
whiche the aduoutrer sendes.

*Runninge with
great Horses fit
for bawdzie.
Lini. Lib. I. Dec.*

Moreouer also the valiaunt exercises of Noble men are
meete for bawdzie, as runninge with horses, whiche be
commonly called tournanentes, and warlike pastimes,
by the policie of whiche Romulus in time passe carried a-
waie by force the Sabine women. Howe many times
also hath huntinge accompanied the Adulteries of noble
and mighty men in the pzeuie places of wooddes: This
hath Virgill verie well wziten in Eneas and Dido, when
occasion was taken of the absence of his companions fro
the oportunitæ of the chale. Iupiter also vled shepherdes
for bawdes. The Citie of Venice also doth testifie, what
commoditæ mariners bzing to bawdzie: and semblably
delicate dishes of the kitchine, and sumptuose bankets
attende vpon bawdzie, as Virgill featly declareth in his
Eneades:

Lib. 4. Enea.

*Mariners mini-
sters of baw-
dzie.*

VWhen men from meate began to rest,
and trenchers vp were take:

Great bolles of wine alonge they sette,
and crownes on them they make.

Then did the Queene a goblet aske
of golde beset with stone:

And filde the same with wine and saide
take in good parte, for none

Vnwelcome is, then sipped shee
a little of the drinke:

And

And scarfly coulde the mouth, and cuppe,
together iustly sincke.

To *Bicias* shee it gaue, and saide,
drinke of this cuppe of wine,
He quickly quafte it, and lefte not
of licour any Signe.

Nexte other Lordes of *Tire*, and *Troye*,
came fourth, and *Dido* spent
The night in vaine discourse, and loue
gaue her a curelesse dente.

There are yet very many other practises of *baudrie*,
whiche I let passe: but *Golde* dothe excell them all wher-
with if the *Alchimistes* (as they promise) were able to
supplie our wante, they no doubt should be the wor-
thiest *baudes* of all: for there is a moste puissant *baudrie*
in *Golde* and *monie*:

For *Ladie monie* geues a wealthy wife, and noble
birthe:

Faith, friendes, well feautred forme, and aie endu-
ringe worldly mirth.

With *Golde* is the salouse husband pacified, with *Golde*
the obstinate riual is appeased, with *Golde* the watche-
full keepers are overcome, with *Golde* every gate is o-
pened, with *Golde* every chamber is entred, with *Golde*
barres, stonnes, and the indissoluble bondes of *Matrimo-
nie* are broken in peeces. What marueile is it, that for
monie *Virgins*, *Maidens*, *Wiuues*, *widowes*, & *Punnes*
be solde, if for *monie* *Christe* him selfe were solde? Fi-
nally many thowwe this guide and capitaine of *baudrie*
haue from moste base estate, climbed in a manner to the
highest degree of *Nobilitie*. This man hath made his
wife the *Kinges* concubine, and hath benne one of his
preuse counsaile, that man, his daughter, and hath benne
created *Carle*: this man hath procured some *Maried* wife
to fulfill the *Princes* desire, & worthe of large *stipende*,
forthwith is become the *Kinges* *Chamberlaine*: some

Do

haue

*Auriculare confession fitte for
Bawdrie.*

*The bawdrie
practises of
Freers, Monkes,
Priests, Nunnas,
and such like.*

haue benne made worshipfull for mariynge the Kinges
Concubines, and haue bene made head rulers in publike
offices, by the meanes of these Artes many haue gotten
many fatte benefices of Cardinales and Bishoppes, nei-
ther is there any waie moze gainefull then this. But
howe much Religion auaieth bawdrie, the Historie of
Paulina a moste chaste and honest matrone wrytten by
Aegessippus doth testifie, whom the Priestes of the God-
desse Isis laide vnder a noble younge man in steade of the
God Anubis. The Tripartite Historie dothe declare al-
so, what auriculare confession can do herein: I knowe
many examples whiche hapned of late, if I woulde recite
them. For Priestes, Monkes, Fræers, Nunnes, & them
whiche be called Sisters, haue a speciall prerogative of
bawdrie, forasmuche as they vnder the pretence of Reli-
gion haue libertie to go whether they please, & to speake
with all parsons whosoener they be, howe longe and as
often as they liste vnder a shewe of visitation, consol-
ation, and confession, so deuoutly be their bawdries mas-
ked, and there are of them, whiche accompte it a greate
offence to touche monie, yet the wordes of Paule mo-
ueth them nothinge, who sayeth: It is good not to touche
a woman, whiche they not seldome seele with vnchaste
handes, and priuely go to the stewes, and defloure ver-
tuouse virgins, and widowes, and make theire hoastes
Cokoldes: sometimes also, whiche I my selfe knowe and
haue seene, do, (carrie theire wiues a waie) as Paris the
Troiane did, & according to Platoes lawe do make them
common with theire companions, and Sacrifice to the
Diuel the bodie of them, whose soules they should gaine
to God: and committe many other thinges thoroowe a
furiouse luste much moze abominable then these, whiche
to vtter in wordes shoulde be a thinge vnseemely, in the
meane season thoroughly satisfiing the boyme of chastitee,
if with horrible wordes they reprove and blame in an o-
ther luste, luxuriansnesse, fornication, adulterie & incest:

and

& the speaking of vertue leade a dishonest life. But often times most detestable bawdes and wicked bawdzesses do lurke vnder those religious garments. The gentilwomen of the Courte, for the moste parte haue suche ministers to saie service, and vse their aduise in Mariages and bawdzies. The Lawes and Canons likewise go a warrefare in the defence of bawdzie, when in fauoure of great men they fight for vnrighteous Mariages, & vndoe the lawfull, and whereas they haue forbidden Priestes honest mariages, shamefully they are compelled to keepe whorres: and the lawe makers woulde rather haue their Priestes keepe concubines with sclaunder, then wiues with honest fame: peraduenture because they receaue greater profite by concubines: Wherof it is reade, that a Bishop made booke at a banket, that he had xj. thousande concubinarie Priestes, whiche paide him yearly one Ducats a peece. There was in times paste, at Rome in the temple of Venus, a decree of the Senate engrauen in two tables, & the law of bawdzie, very fauourable to bawdes & lecherours, which we haue reade in Peter Crinite, written in these wordes: In the firste table were contained, I do perpetually allow men ennamored in the daie time to behold, to followe, to whisper, to enter in, to reioice, to salute, to talke, & requeste: there shall no parson prohibite all these commodities from the house, hole, garden, posterne gate, & water fall: let them geue counsaile, keepe promise, heale and fauour all men: In the other table was written: In the night lette them seele the intentes of the parsons, let them intermedle othes with lamentations, lette them instantly allure, lette them set a parte al shame & feare, let them cloke their sadnesse, let them do as the time and place requireth, let not occasion be losse, let letters goe from one to an other: with these let them earnestly desire and craue hope, affection, expectation, necessitie & pitie, let them temperately vse guile, violence, deceite, and ostentation: let them haue, conceale, & shewe

The Ciuil and Canon lawe

*A wicked booke
singe of a Bishoppe.*

*Two tables of
bawdie lawes.*

Cornelius Agrippa

*The lawe of Li-
curgus, touching
vnequal Matrimo-
nie.*

now wisdom, now folly: let them forever keepe some
thinge of hers whome they loue as it were a sure signe, &
testimonie of loue, let them go vnto her thozow her suf-
ferance, let them seeke a freshe woman, let them ende-
uour to winne a stately & noble dame by crafte oz pōpe:
lette them preuily renewe the accustomed coniectures.
Licurgus also made a lawe, if any aged man and vnmēte
for the acte of Matrimonie, had taken to wife a younge
girle of tender yeares, it laie in her power to chuse some
able yonge mā to be get her with childe, so that the childe
whiche was borne were affirmed to be the husbandes.
Solon also made a lawe, whiche likewise allowed wiues,
if their husbandes were not able to fulfill their desire, to
pike out one of his kinsmen, of whom thē might receaue
that thē lacked & lacked for: that was not therefore repu-
ted an other mans, whiche was borne. I speake not how
many women there be and are known now a daies, yea
of the noblest, which yeaerly being great with childe tho-
rowe foraine sēde, do make their husbandes beleue that
the children which be borne are theirs. And againe after
childbirth they haue recourse euery other daie to satisfie
the Adulterers: worse then Iulia the wife of Marcus A-
grippa, which took no Mariner but when the shippe was
fraighte. The holy bookes of the Bible also (if it be lawfull
to speake it) haue subtelties of bawdrie, as it is clearely
sēne in the wiues mother of Ruth, and in Ionadab, called
in the Scripture a wise man, & in Achitophell a mighty
counsailour. Abraham also whereas he had Sara to wife
a faire and younge woman, & were emonge the Egypti-
ans, he saide to her: I know that thou arte a faire woman,
& when the Egyptians shall see thē, they will saie: thē is
his wife: & they will kill me: & they will keepe thē emonge
them. Saie therfore I besech thē, that thou art my sister,
to the ende that I maie be in salstie for thy sake, & for the
loue of thē my soule shall liue, and so at the length Sara
was taken in Pharos house, and for consideration of her
Abraham

Abraham was wel vsed. The same crafte vsed Abimelech with the Kinge of the Palestines, geuing his wife licence to lie with two Kinges but at diuerse times. The same did Isaac the sonne of Abraham: & so likewise the Arte of bawdrie hath ben set forth with the exāples of Saintes. Furthermoze it hath benne reuerenced and honoured of the Goddes, of noble personages, of lawe makers, of philosophers, of passinge wise men, of diuines, of Princes, and of the veray heades of religion. The God Pan, Mercurie, & the boie Cupide were bawdes, the Baron Vlysses was a bawde, Licurgus the lawe maker was a bawde, & the wise Solon, who firste builde brothel houses, and provided whores for yonge men. And in our time the Pope Sixtus erected in Rome a notable stewes, the Emperoure Heliogabalus was a bawde, who mainteined in his housecelles of whores, and exhibited them to his friendes and seruantes.ouer and besides this Quēnes, Princesses, and Ladies be careful of this, and kinges mothers are otherwhiles bawdresses to thaire sornes. Moreover the chiefe rulers and officers do not disdain this office, for in time past the Corinthians, the Ephesians, y Abidens, the Cyprians, the Babilonians, & many other magistrates: whiche in their Cities doe bulde and maintaine brothels houses, whordinge vp so small profite in theire treasure of the gaine of harlottcs: whiche is not seldome vsed in Italie, where the whores in Rome paye weekly to the Pope a Giulio, whiche yrearely reuenewe otherwhiles amounteth to xx. thousande Ducates, and more, and this office doth so much belong to the Prelats of the Church, that togeather with the reuenewes of theire benefices they accompte also the tribute of bawdrie. For I haue harde them sometimes make accompt in this maner, sayinge, he hath two benefices, one cure of xx. ducates, an other Priorie of xl. ducates, & thre whores in the stewes, whiche pay him euery weeke xx. Guilies. Neuertheles the Bishoppes and officials are bawdes also, whiche do com-

*Pope Sixtus
built a notable
stewes.*

*Whoores paye
tribute to the
Pope.*

Cornelius Agrippa

sell the Priestesses to pay them yearely a reuenew for their concubines, and this they do so openlye, that this their marchandise of women, or bawdrie is growen to a proverbe amonge the people, whiche says: whether he haue or not, he shal pay a ducate for a concubine, & let him haue her if he will. But in the kingdom of auarice, nothinge is attributed to dishonestie, whereof gaine may arise: I wil not speake of the inuention of sufferance, by the which, payinge a certaine summe of money to the Bishoppes, the wife in absence of her husbände, without offence of adultery (as they say) is licenced to dwell with an other: which thinges be so cleare and manifeste, that we are enforced to be ignorant, whether is more foolish, the impudency of the Bishoppes, or the patience of the people: that at the length, the Princes of Germanie, haue bene enforced to reckon these amonge other greuous burdens of that nation, by whiche you maye very well perceiue the residue, which are here passed ouer with silence. Such defendours then hath the Arte of bawdrie, and whiche do maintayne the whores science, that vntil this day (the more pity) it is allowed in the Christian common weale, and there are graunted them in Cities publicke Theaters, priuiledges, and wages, whileste this onely weake reason of man, or rather bawdye inuention, strineth againste the lawes of God and his worde, in which they say, that this is maintained, to the ende that youth hauinge there auoyded the furie of fleshly lust, may forbear to attempte worse things. they say, take whores out of the common wealth, every place would be stouered with fornication, incest, & adulteries, no married woman shall remaine chaste: no widowe shalbe of perfect honestie: maydens shalbe scarcely kepte in chastitie: in fine, for this cause they conclude, that it is impossible for the common weale to be in quietnesse without whores, without whiche notwithstanding the people of Israel in time past did moste constantly continue many hundreth yeares, as God commaunded them, Let there be

A weake reason
for mainte-
nance of
whores.

The people of Is-
rael liued many
hundreth yeares
without
whores.

be no whore or lecherouse amonge the sonnes of Israel. And beside this vncleannesse in time past crepte into the Church vnder the shewe of Religion, and did spreade abroad the heresse of the Nicolaites, which to auoide gelosie made their wiues common, and taught in a maner after Platons lawe, that they ought to be common. But al such Princes, Iudges, and Magistrates, as doe maintaine brothels houses, or in any wise do allow them, although they play not the lecherours, yet Lord wil say vnto them, as the Psalmist saith: if thou sawest a thiefe, thou wentest with him, and haddest thy part with adulterers: thou hast don these things, and I haue helde my peace: thou hast beleued a wicked man, that I am like vnto thee, but I will accuse thee, and wil make thee come before my face.

The heresse of the Nicolaites.

Of Beggerie. Cap. 65.

It belongeth to the common wealthe and religion, to haue regarde of the poore, and the sicke: to the ende that none thoroowe pouertie may offende, & steale, or going about begginge infecte the Citie with Beggers for sundrie causes are not to pestilence, or perishe for hunger, to the be suffered in no place namely in cities, reproche of humanitie. For the whiche wherefore the Germans, Politike gouernours of their publike weale, haue cause Hospitales of poore people haue in diuers reformed cities made holsome benne or dayned in many places with indiuers reformed cities made holsome publike gatheringes of monie, & great lawes for the helpe and maintinaunce deuotion, and dayly enriched with the of the poore, which not able to labour hath bene alwayes forbidden euen fro haue a stipende yearly out of the treasure of the citie, and if any handicraftesman driuen to extreme pouertie be not able to buye his tooles and other necessities, he comming to the heade officers of the citie shall haue monie sufficient to supplie his wante, also if there be any vndowed maiden she shalbe honest & creite.

by married and receiue a reasonable
do wrie of the chiefe rulers of the citie
who are appointed to redresse enormi-
ties. VVhereby it is come to passe that
there is seene scarcely a begger in a
whole yeare, and a theefe is as rare e-
monge them as a blacke swane. this I
thought good to mention in this place,
to the end that by the godly proceedings
of the noble Germans we English men
may be stirred vp to folow their steppes,
there haue benne available lawes ena-
cted concerninge flourishinge beggers
and other poore people, but fewe or
none are obserued, to the greate rebuke
of humanitie.

strict ordinance touching valliant beg-
gers, yf any able to labour were found
to aske almesse, he should be taken, and
brought into bodage. Christ in the law
of the Gospel commaundeth, that that,
whiche remaineth shoulde be giuen to
the poore, to the end that there remaine
no begger, nor poore parson emong the
people: but that there be an equalitie,
as Paule writeth to the Corinthians
sayinge: Let your plenty supply their
want to the ende that their plenty
may supply your pouerty, and let there
be an equality, as it is writen. He that
hath muche dothe not abounde, and he
that hath little, lacketh nothinge: and
writinge to the Ephesians, saith: Let
him that firste robbed, now robbe no more, but rather let
him worke that which is good in labouringe with his
handes, that he may haue wherewith to helpe the needy.
The same also commaundeth the Thessalonians to labour
with their handes, & to endeuoure to haue abundaunce,
appointing them as it were a decree, that he which would
not labour, should not eate: and commaunded, that they
which did other wise, shoulde be taken from emong the
fellowshippe of the faithfull, and in the Epistle to Timo-
thee he condemneth them, which thinke the gaine of beg-
ginge, a worke of godlinesse. The Canon Decrees of the
Popes also haue ordayned, that almesse should be distri-
buted on those poore people onely, which cannot labour,
and doo reckon all other, which take almesse, emong
theues, robbers, and sacrilegers. By these authours then
we are taught, that we ought not to haue so greate com-
passion of pouertie as to deteste and blame beggerie. And
the artes, which they haue deuised to gaine by begginge,
are to be hated of all men, whilst that they had lietter at
the

the Church dore, to the iniure of mans nature, & against the lawes of God, willingly to suffer deadly colds, gnawing of teethe, skorchinge heate, and cruell tormentes, that vneth they can auoyde deathe it selfe, then to liue content with almesse in the hospitals of poore people, and cure their griefes. And that which is moze to be detested, beinge in these greuous tormentes, they curse, rayle, better spiteful wordes, they are drunken, & forswear themselves, and otherwhiles prayinge counterfaitly, settinge at naught, and dispisinge al godly thinges, doe not worship Chyiste with any reuerence: so that they seeme to the beholders not Martyrs of Chyist, but damned soules and spirites of hell. There is an other mozte wicked kinde of beggers not to be pitied, that is to witte of them, whiche with birdlime, meale, bloude, and corrupte matier, with cruell woundes, and counterfaite blisters doe peinte themselves full of soares and cankers, diuers faininge diuers infirmities, with sundrie sleighthes do shew themselves miserable to the beholders. Some other there are, whiche vnder the pzentence of vowes, and pilgrimages, walke about the countrie, eschewing labour of purpose, thoroowe idle pouertie begginge for Gods sake from dore to dore, and these in the meane season will not chaunge their life with kinges, so that they maye freely wander where they please, and doe what euer they thinke good in warre and peace, In al places thei be safe from exactions, from publike subsidies, from bondage, and from al partes and euery where they are free from ciuill correction, they be not apprehended for their fraude, deceite, trumpery, thefte, and iniuries, and as men consecrated to God doe passe without receiuinge hurte of any man: and notwithstandinge there ariseth of their order no small inconuenience, and horrible ribaldries doe from thence procede, whileste vnder pretence of beggerie they searche out the secrets of cities, and countries: and whilest thei practised in deceite and craft, and instructed to al kindes of reason

A wicked kind
of beggers.

Another kinde
of beggers.

Cornelius Agrippa

do carrie and recarrie the letters of the enimie. By them
sometimes Cities haue ben burned, which Fraunce, and
the Citie of T r i r e haue of late yeares experienced, some-
times they haue poysoned the water, infected the corne,
and venommed the victuals, and the pestilence beinge dis-
persed, haue made a greate mortalitie of men. With these
Cyngani be the are to be numbred, the people, which are called Cyngani:
beggers whiche
we cal Egyptias VVhiche do delite to liue by forayne spoile
It painefull is for them to dwell at home

And they abhorre to knowe theire natie soile.

These beinge bozne in the countrie which lieth betwene
Egypt and Ethiopia, and by auncetours descending fro y
generation of Chus the sonne of Cham, the sonne of Noe,
do euen vnto this day suffer y curse of their grandfather,
and wanderinge throughout all the worlde, plantinge
tentes without citties the in fieldes, and crosse waies, do
get theire liuinge with these deceites, to wit, with stea-
ling, and robbing, with falsehed and bartring, and delite
men also with palmestrie, foreshewing thinges to come.
Volaterranus thinketh, that these be the Vxij, a people of
Persia, folowing Scilares, who wrote the Historie of Con-
stantinople. He saithe that Michaell Traulus the Empe-
rour attayned his Empire by the prophesie of the Vxij,
which secte skattered thoroowe Mesia and Europe, did ge-
nerally fozetell at men thinges to come. Polydorus affir-
meth, that thei be Assyrians and Cilicians. But nowe this
plague of valiaunt beggerie doth not onely herberoughe
emonge temporall men, and the vilest knaues of lewdest
demeanoure, but also it is crepte into religion, emonge
the order of Monkes and Priestes. From hence arose
these sectes of Freres, Monkes, and other wandring
prowlers, in the number of whiche be they, that vnder
false shewe of religion, carryng about, (as they say) reli-
ques of Saintes, or els vnder false hypocrisie, shewinge
outwarde holinesse, with many inuentions of fained mi-
racles, threating the wrath of the Saintes, promising
pardons

Beggerie among
Monkes.

pardons, and dispensations vnder the pretence of almeſſe
do pzole for pzoſite: & going about the countrie do gaine
of the ignozante country men, and of the light beleuinge
women, being ſuperſtitiously aſtonied, a ſhæpe, a lambe,
a kidde, a calfe, a pigge, gamondes of bacon, wine, oyle,
butter, cozne, beanes & pease, milke, chæſe, egges, hennes,
woll, hempe, and gettinge monye of them robbe all the
world, & in this wiſe loden with fat ſpoiles they retorne
home, where with great toy their fraternitie doth receiue
them, & commed them bicauſe they haue ſo religiously be-
giled the ſimple people, and ſely women, and deeme with
like craftes of beggerie, and notable ſubtilties of deccits
to offer very acceptable ſacrifices to God, as oftentimes
as after this manner they charged with booty, with great
hinderance of the people, & detrimente to the common
wealth, do franke and fatten the idle officers of their fa-
milie, nothinge at al eſteeming, neglecting, and diſpiſing
the woꝝkes of mercy, vnder the collour of which ſo many
giſtes are beſtowed on them. Apuleius in his *Aſſe* did in
time paſt write the fable of them, ſpeaking of the prieſtes
of the Goddeſſe Syria. There are beſide theſe innumera-
ble ſectes of begginge Fræers, & (as they ſay) of Beguardes,
whiche laying aſide, the holines of theire profeſſion, haue
chaunged godlineſſe for gaine, as if they did to no other
ende profeſſe religion, then that vnder the title of pouer-
tie they maye range where euer they pleaſe and with a
ſhameles face and importunate hipocriſie to ſcrape mony
together on euery ſide not to be aſhamed of any diſhoneſt
gaine, and with marueilous railinges to braule at the
people in the Quire, in the ſtreate, in the Churche, in the
ſcholes, in courtes, in palaces, in publike & priuate com-
munication, in confeſſions, in diſputations, in ſermons,
from benches, from chears, out of pulpits, and preaching
places, ſortreſſes of their impudẽcie, to ſel the marchaun-
diſe of pardons, to meaſure theire good dædes with cere-
monies, & to wzing from marchauntes, vſurers, and noa

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Freers thorow
theire goodes
gotten by beg-
ging haue aspi-
red to the Pope-
dome.

table theues the pray of misgotten goodes, and to beguile rude citisens, ignozaunte people, & superstitious dotinge women of their mony, and by the example of the Serpet first to allure foolish women, & by meanes of them to finde a way to deceiue men, which whilest they shewe pouerty with a counterfait basenesse of apparail & cryinge lowde do preach that mony should not be esteemed, & that ambitio should be eschued, they care for nothing more then to possesse infinite riches: and for this cause they go about y sea and lande, they enter into al mens houses & shoppes, & do not minister their Sacraments but for mony, they tiranously demaund almesse as it were tribute, they medle with all mens matters, they make vnlawfull mariages, they turne testaments vpside downe, they set men at one that be variaunce, they refozme nunes, but they do al these thinges for their commoditie: these be the frærlke artes, with which many of them haue growen so greate authoritie, that they make the Emperours and Popes afraide, and haue heaped vp more riches then the wealth of many chaunts & treasures of Princes, & with many thousandes of poundes haue bought Miters, & Chaplains, and with great summes of mony haue aspired also to y Popedome. So great power hath that religious beggerie. And albeit they possesse great masses of mony, notwithstanding many of them make a shew of extreame pouertie, & of perfection more then euangelike, in case they touche not this with their bare fingers, but haue a Iudas to carrie their purses, & giue them an accompt, in the meene while they presume to say, as Peter & Iohn did, we haue no golde and siluer with vs. But if herein they did not lye, and theire talke were faithfull, thei should haue power to say arise, & walke. And togeather with their holy father S. Fraunces cleane without mony, & vices, did commaunde creatures, & obeyed the, turned water into wine, passed ouer riuers drye shoed, made wilde wolves tame, staled the chirpinge of swallowes with commaundement alone, made a falcon crowe

crowe like a Cocke, commaunded the fire, and did many suche faigned miracles, whiche be falsly affirmed of their Saincte Fraunces. Richarde Bisshope of Armachane, and Malleolus prouoste of Tigure, and John Bisshope of Camota, haue in time passe witten againste these cursi-
tours, & many other haue made mention of them, whiche did plainely detecte the abuse of this religious beggerie. But now let these suffice, to the ende that we maie pro-
ceade farther.

Of Economie, that is to witte, of the ordering of things
concerninge the houshold in generall. Cap. 66.

Vnder the gouernment of the common weale is al-
so contained Economie, whiche is a certaine dome-
sticall common weale, and nothinge els but a cer-
taine priuate Monarchie, but there are many kindes
thereof. For one is called kingly, or courtly: an other Sa-
trapticall, or warrelke: againe an other comon, or belon-
ginge to the comunaltie, or els Conuentual, or belonging
to compante, and finally one priuate or monasticke. This
dothe then teache in what manner the wife, the children,
the kinsfolke, the familie, and the seruautes are to be
gouerned, by what meanes the house and possession is to
be preserued and augmented, and whereof expences are
to be leuied. Moreover al the subtilties which be in rents,
in monie, in tallages, in tributes, in tenthes, in vsuries,
in aduauntages, or ouerplusses, and in trafficke, and all
the newe craftes, and inuentions, to finde profit and ad-
uantage. Furthermore of felowshippes also, of agrée-
mentes, of controuersies, and warre, all whiche thinges
because they haue neither measure, nor rule, are called
Anomals. Therefore Economie, or householdinge cannot
truely be termed neither Art, nor Science, but a certaine
domesticke or priuate discipline compacted and made of
the opinion, vse, custome, prudence, or rather of the sub-

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*Infamous par-
sons.*

*Mariners bothe
vnhappie and
vngrations.*

filthie of men, whereunto are referred all woorkes that be done sittinge, and handicraftes, whiche consist in flaxe, woulle, woodde, yron, brasse, and diuerse mettals: seruill obeyssaunces also of barbars, bainekeepers, hucksters, and diuerse waies to get liuinge & increase substance: whiche appertaine not to the authozitee of gouernmente, and auaile no deale to the rule of the publike wealth, sozeasinge and consideringe no diuine, comely, nor woorthle matter, which are so many, that thei cannot be numbzed, and al these are seruill: many other also be infamouse for the affinitie whiche they haue with vices, as Carters, Mariners, and Inholders, be reputed infamouse for the vice of vnmeasurable talkinge, because they delite in fables and spreade newes, and likewise Barbars, Bainekeepers, and Shepherdes. For the fable of Midas, and the historie of Sylla beseginge Athens haue made these infamouse, and the fable of Battus the other. Semblablye Singers, Pipers, Harpers, men hyzed for monie, be infamouse, whiche at bankettes sounge instrumentes of Musicke to delite others, but the Mariners life, as it is the vnhappiest of al, so is it the warste, whose dwellinge place is like a prison, their fare excedinge harde, and the same very filthie, their apparail vile, & summarily they haue an incommoditie of all thinges, perpetuall exile, alwaies wandringe, neuer abidinge in one place, & knowe not reste, ever tossed with the raginge windes, and with the waueringe surges, alwaies subiecte to heate, colde, raine, lightning, hunger, thirste, and vncleannesse. The Sylles, the Charibdes, the Sirtes, the Symplegades, and so many daungerouse ieopardies of the Sea come nexte vnto these: beside this the tempestes of the Sea, then the whiche there is nothinge moze fearefull, and horrible, and with al these and many other mischiefes a continual daunger of life. And whereas shipmen are the vnhappiest of all men, they be therewithall the vngratioust of all parsons. But enionge all these handie craftes, marchaundise,

chaundise, husbandrie, warrefare, Physicke, & pleadinge be the chiefeft, of whiche we will speake hereafter in order. But firste let vs discusse the generall fundations of Economie.

Of Economie or Priuate Gouvernement. Cap. 67.

The whole efficacie of Priuate gouernment standeth in Matrimonie, wherfore Metellus Numidicus the Censour, when he exhorted the people of Rome to marrie, saide: O ye Romans if we coulde liue without wiues, we al should seeke to auoide y trouble: but because nature hath so taught, that by no meanes with them, nor without them, we maie liue comodiously enough, we ought rather to prouide for euerlasting salstee, then for fadinge pleasure: these thinges Aulus Gellius recompteth. And truely no house, or houtholde affaire can endure, and be of continuance, without a wife: for without a wife kindred cannot be encreased, nor heire be named, nor enheritaunce be called, nor kinnsfolke, nor familie, nor father of the familie can be saide. He that hath no wife, hath no house, because he doth not faste his house: and if he haue, he dwelleth therein as a straunger in an Inne: he that hath no wife, although he be excedinge riche, he hath almost nothinge, which maie be called his, because, he hath not to whome he maie leaue it, nor to whom to trust, all that he hath is in daunger of spoile: his seruantes robbe him, his companions beguile him, his neighbours dispise him, his friendes regarde him not: his kinnsfolke seeke his vndoinge: if he hath any children out of Matrimonie, they tourne him to shame, wherfore the lawes forbidde him to leaue them, neither the name of their familie, nor the armes of their predecessours, nor their substaunce, and he is also togeather with them put backe from all publike offices and dignities, by the consente of all lawe makers. For he is unworthie to rule a Citie which

*The exhortatio
M. Numidicus,
to the Romans,*

*The comodities
of a wife.*

hath

*He that well
gouerneth his
house, is woorthy
to beare
rule in a com-
mon wealth.*

*Phillip of Ma-
cedonie, and
Gorgias Leonti-
nus had debate
in their houses,
therefore the
Greekes iudged
them vnmeet
for publike go-
uernment.
The happiest
life.*

hath not learned to gouerne his house : nor to beare stroke in the common weale, whiche neuer knewe to gouerne his priuate and houtholde affaires, whiche is the very example and image thereof. The Greekes perceaued this, whom when Philippe of Macedonie endeouored to bringe to atonement beinge at discorde, and Gorgias Leontinus had recited in Olimpia, a booke of the Greekes con corde contemptuously reiecting the one & the other, they laughed them to skorne, because they endeouored to set others at vnitie, whiche coulde not establishe con corde in their owne houses. For Phillippe had at home his wife and sonne at discorde, and Gorgias his wife and maide, wherefore they thought that whose presumptuous prudence and authoritee was not able to appease houtholde contention, coulde not wisely conclude outwarde discordes. He then whiche is set to rule a Citie and common weale, if first he know not how to gouerne him selfe, his house, and his substance, he vndoubtedly taketh that charge in vaine. This finally is the onely state of life, wherein a man maie leade the happiest life of al, in louing his wife, in bringinge vp his children, in gouerninge his familie, in sauinge his substance, in rulinge his house, & in encreasinge his offspringe : wherein if any charge and labour happen (for very many doe chaunce, and no state of life is without his crosse) verely this onely is that lighte burden, and sweete yoke, whiche is in wedlocke : if so be the wiues be suche, whome not auarice, not pride, not deceipt, not fraude, not pœuish appetite, but God himselfe hath ioygned togeather, to the ende that a man shoulde forsake his Father and Mother, Sonnes, brothers, kinsmen, & cleaue to his wife, whose loue ought to surpasse the affection of all other. In this wise Hector seeinge Troye fallinge to ruine, was not afflicted so muche with the thought of his parentes, not of his brethren, not of him selfe, as of his deare wife. For after this manner he speaketh in Homer.

I doo

I doo not doubt, but stately *Troye*,
will haue a greuous fall:
And warrelike *Priams* people eke,
and *Priame* shalbe thrall.
But care of people, nor of *Syre*,
nor eke of *Priame* kinge:
Nor brothers, though many of them,
and woorthie in each thinge
Shall die in handes of foes, so much
doo pinch my pensiffe harte:
As care of thee my dearest wife,
doth vex and cause me smarte.

I confesse that many troubles and vexations doe accom-
panie naughtie Mariages, such as Socrates sometime de-
clared, continuall care, tormentinge ielousie, perpetuall
quarrels, vpbzaidinge of dowrie, sower looks of the pa-
rentes: comparison of an other mans mariage, diuerse
expenses, doubtfull endes of childzen, sometime lacke of
them, death of offspringe, a straunge heire, & infinite sor-
rowes: adde hereto no choise of the wife, but to be taken
what euer she be, whether pleasaunt, or folishe, or ill
mannered, or proud, or fowle, or deformed, or vnchaste,
euery defaulte that she hath, is knowne after mariage:
but with much adoe or neuer it is redressed. There are
examples of vnequall mariages: Marcus Cato the Cen-
sour in his time without controuersie, the chiefest of the
Romane common wealth, who vneth had in warre and
peace his equall, when in his olde age he had taken to
wife a younge wenche, daughter of one Salomo a poore
man, and of base estate, she behauinge her selfe disobedi-
ently did beare no rule in his house. Tiberius hauing to
wife Iulia daughter to Augustus, infamouse for her ma-
nifest adulteries, daringe not to chastice her, nor accuse
her, nor forsake her, nor retaine her, was enforced to goe
to Rhodes, not without blotte of good name, and perill
of life. M. Antonius the Philosopher, when he had taken

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to wife Faustina daughter to Antonius Pius, was constrained to keepe her being an adultresse, least he should come in contention for the dowrie and empire. But all these incommodities happen not so much through the faulte of wiues, as thowoe the errour of husbandes, for an vnhoonest wife is not wonte to chaunce to none, but naughtie husbandes. Of this matter Varro in Gellius reasoneth in this wise, sayinge: The faulte of the wife is either to be taken awaie, or endured, he that taketh it awaie, maketh her more tractable & easie: he that endureth her, maketh him selfe better. Hereof we haue spoken more at large in our declamation vpon the Sacrament of Matrimonie. Beside this also, y bringing vp of children, hath not turned well to all men, many of whiche haue either an ill name, or disobedient to their parentes, some also hate them, some chaunce foolish and mad, and some blockish, and grosse headed, some runne headlonge into all vices, and spende their patrimonie in riote, in sensualitye, and in dice plaie: some kil the which begat them, as Alemeon, Orestes, and P. Malleoles, whiche killed their mothers. And Artaxarces Mnemon also hauinge a hundreth and fiftene sonnes, slewe a great parte of them, which conspired his death. Wherefore very well saithe Euripides, and our Barnarde hath receaued it, that it is an vnknown good to be without children. Augustus also that most happy Emperoure, was oftentimes enforced bicause of his daughter and nece, to vse this verse of Homer.

I would to God, I had nor wife nor childe.

Euripides likewise saithe, in this manner of seruantes: There is at home no greater enemie, nor worse, nor more vnprofitable, then a seruant. And Democritus saithe: A seruante is a necessarie possession, but not profitable. Petrarcha wrote also in a certaine place: I knewe well that I liued with dogges, but I knewe not that I was a hunter, had I not benne aduised. Seruantes be called dogges, because they are snappishe, they be gluttonous, and

and alwaies barking. Plautus in Pseudolo doth in these wordes expresse their natures. A kinde of men worthe whippinge, which neuer haue in minde any good thinge: but when occasiō is geuen them, holde, steale, robbe, this is their practise, that thou were better to leaue woulfes emonge sheepe, then these to keepe thy house. And Lucianus in Palinurus saith: The misreportes, the robberies, the deceiptes, the renning awaie, the arrogancie, the negligence, the drunkenness, the gozmandise, the sluggishness, the slothfulness, the litherness of seruantes towards their Maisters are alwaies readie. Hereof is spronge that Proverbe: we haue so many enemies at home, as we haue seruantes. But oftentimes we haue not them so muche our enemies, as we make them, when we are proude, couetous, spitefull, and cruell towards them, and at home we put on tirauntes mindes, and will beare rule ouer our seruants, not as it besemeth, but as it pleaseth vs. Of this matter Strophilus the seruante speaketh after this sorte in Plautus, in the Comedie Aulularia.

A proverbe.

The Maisters now their seruantes doo misuse,
 The seruantes to obaie them doo refuse.
 So on no side is done that, whiche is righte,
 The nigh olde men keepe all thinges from their sighte.
 And with a thousande keies they faste locke doo,
 Stoore house, kitchinge, cellar, and buttrie too.
 So that, vneth their children they in lette,
 The theuisme and the subtill seruantes fette
 The doores wide open, with a thousande keyes,
 And closly filch, purloine, and goe their waies.
 They neuer for a hundreth hanginges, will
 Disclose their thestes. So seruantes that be ill,
 Reuenge their bondage doo, with sporte and plaie.
 I then conclude, if bountie beare the swaie:
 That seruantes still wil walke in vpright waie.
 Many common wealthes in tyme passe, haue sustained
 If y wonder-

wonderfull greate damages by seruantes : the seruill warres witten of many hystoriographers do witnesse y, but namely y Citie of Volsinium aboundinge in wealth, garnished with customes and lawes, in time paste did set forth a lamentable sight of the presumption of seruants, which dealinge too familiarly with their seruantes in geuinge them the bzidle at will, did oftentimes cal them to counsailes, at length some of them presumed to enter into the order of Senatours, shortly after they vsurped the gouernaunce of the publike weale, they caused Testaments to be witten at their pleasure, they forbade the bankettes and assemblies of free men, they married the daughters of their Masters, lastly they made a lawe that their aduoutries in widowes, & vnmarried women should be unpunished, and that no virgin shoulde marrie a free man, if one of them had not first deflowzed her, after this manner a greate riche Citie, whiche was the principall towne in Caria, by reason of too much libertie and gentlenesse towarde seruantes, sustained great iniuries and villanie. For, as Aristotle saith in his Politickes, if the correction of seruants be taken away, the masters come to destruction, as the Hilotes did against the Lacedemonians, and the Prenestins against the Thessalians.

Of Kingly, or Courtly Gouernment. Cap. 68.

It remaineth that briefly we speake of the Kinges household, that is, of the Courte. The Courte then in effecte is nothinge els but a colledge of Giannes, that is, an assembly of noble men, and famous knaues, and a Theater of most wicked waiters, a schoule of very corrupt customes, and a refuge of detestable wickednesse : where pride, arrogancie, bigge looks, extorcion, sensualitee, riot, enuie, anger, surfetinge, violence, crueltie, malice, disloyaltie, deceipte, malignitee, credulitee, and what vices so euer be els where, & most corrupte customes doe dwell, gouerne

gouverne and rule: where deflozatiōs, rapes, adulteries, & fornications be the pastimes of Princes & Nobles: where also the mothers of Princes and Kinges, be otherwhile bawdzesses to their Sonnes: there be stormie tempestes of all mischieses, and an vnspokeable wrecke of all vertues: every honeste man is there oppressed, and every ribaulde is auanced, the simple xienne be laughed to skorne, and the iuste are persecuted, presumptuous and shamelesse parsons be fauoured. None but flatterers doe prosper there, and whisperers, sclanderers, talebearers, false accusers, complainers, abusers, venomous tongues, supplanters, inuentours of mischieses, & other pestilent people, whiche professe al kinde of shamefull actes: whose life is wholye boyde of shame, and what naughtines so euer in any place is found in cruel beasts, al this seemeth to be assembled in the route of courtiers, as in one body: there is found the fiercenesse of the Lion, the crueltie of the Tiger, the truculencie of the Beare, & beastely rashnesse of the Boze, the pride of the Horse, the rauine of the Wolfe, the obstinacie of the Oxe, the deceit of the Foxe, the mutabilitie of the Chameleon, the varietie of the Liberde, the biting of the Dogge, the desperatnesse of the Elephant, the reuengment of the Camel, the fearefulnes of the Hare, the lasciuiousnes of y^e Goate, the vncleanes of the Sow, the simplicitie of the Sheepe, the follie of the Ass, the scoffinge of the Ape: there be the furious Centaures, y^e perilous Chimeres, the woode Satires, the filthy Harpies, the dishonest Sirenes, y^e bisformed Scilles, there the horrible Ostriches, there the grædy Griphes, & terrible Dragons, and what straunge and feareful monsters nature euer created againste her will, doe dwell and are sene: there all kindes of vertues endure their tormentours, and tyrauntes: to be short they must abide in wickednesse, naughtinesse or impietie, or departe from the Courte. None but foolles escape unpunished: let him leaue the Courte, that wilbe good. There can chaunce no

mischief more pestilente to Cities, then the Courte of a
 mightie Lorde. When this is moued, as it were a comete
 the messenger of all mischieses, and no other wise then a
 verpe infectiue plague, to euery place where it arriueth,
 bringeth with it a very daungerous destruction: from
 whence soeuer it departeth, it leaueth incurable tokens
 of his popson, as of them whom a mad dogge hath biten.
 A continual dearth of things doth accompany it, whilest
 that euery man endeuoureth to gaine thereby, in enhaun-
 singe the price of thinges whiche neuer afterwarde with
 great losse can be brought downe: dayntines of face doth
 also accompanie it, wherupon when strange meats were
 brought in, the people began to abhorre their countrie
 fare, and euery where geuinge themselves to feede and
 chearish the carkeis, do dishonestly consume their sub-
 stance, Pride also doth accompanie it, which whilest that
 citizens & women going about to counterfait, & al houses
 taking from thence the manner & facion of their attire,
 do spende al their goodes on apparaille, and pompe. Cor-
 ruptio of maners doth folow, a most pestilent mischiese,
 in bringing in very wicked vices. And when the Courte
 departeth from a citie, alas what a filthy taile leaueth it
 behinde: these finde their wiues aduouterers, they, their
 daughters deflowred, or els carried awaye for hoyses, or
 others supplanted children, or their seruantes & maides
 corrupted. What neede many wordes: there is woderful
 great lamentatio, & the whole face of the citie is changed,
 like y face of an harlot. I know a famous citie in Fraunce,
 for this cause so corrupt. y scarcely there is seene any chaste
 wife, hardly mens daughters be married virgins: but ra-
 ther repute it a greate honoure to haue ben a hoise of the
 court, and the elder womē are bawdes to the yonger,
 and this dishonestie hath so growē in vse, that no shame
 remaineth, and the husbandes themselves do vneth passe
 for their wiues whoredome, so that (as Abraham saide
 to Sara) they be well at ease because of them, and liue de-
 litiously for their sake.

The people of the Courte is of two sortes: y^e Dukes & Erles be the chiefest, I meane these noble Thra-
soes, whiche dote in pride, riote, and pompe, clad in
purple, silke, and worke of feathers, in embzodered and
golden garmentes.

VVhiche do delite in whoores, in striding
steppes they pleasure take:
In staring lookes, and sundrie sortes,
of garmantes straunge to make.

These tame their strength in Vencerie, their throte and
tast is daintie, thei euery where, desire to go in gorgeous
apparaile, they fare sumptuously, thei geue and take ban-
kets. Thei oftentimes accopt it an honour, if in a famous
bankette at one time, they riotously consume their sub-
staunce in suche wise, that for the space of a quarter of a
yeare after, they impudently go to other mennes tables.
About these, from al partes, flocke harpers, pipers, and al
kindes of musitians, bowders, plaiers, parasites, harlots,
bawdes, dauncers, hunters, and suche like monsters of
men, they feede dogges, hozles, goshaikes, sperhaikes,
and other birdes of pray, apes, popiniayes, and if there
be any monsters, and outcastes of nature, beares, lyons,
liberds, tigers. Their communications are mere trifles, &
idle fables, they sclaunder, accuse, disclose secretes, lye, &
mingle true thinges with false, these babble muche of
howndes, huntynge, of the compasse of the woode, of the
daungerous and doubtful dennes of wilde beastes, of the
endes of y^e chases: thei make many lies, of hozles, of war-
farre, and of worthy enterprises by them atcheiued. If
there be any enuious man presente, enterruptinge other
mens communication he maketh a noyse, entermingling
other trifles, and arrogantly will reckon by his valiaunt
deedes, whiche he thinketh, do purchase him prayse: an o-
ther oftentimes doth conuict him of a lye, & with sundrie
scottes:

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scoffes hisseth him out of the place, wherfore not seldome the whole feasting communication doth at that time end in choler, and contumelye, and as it befell in the bankets of the Centaures, the cuppes and goblets cease not to flie about vntil the bloude runne aboute theire eares. And so oftentimes straungers retourne from the tables of these courtiers with woundes and broken heades, as if they had bene bidden with this condition.

The remnaunt is, ye merrie men
your bodies wel defende

V With stomake stoute, and ready be,
to fight we do intende.

The chiefeft knowledge that these menne haue, is to obseque the most conuenient times to speake with princes, to the ende they may not propounde any thinge to them out of season, & they electe not these times by the starres, by the heauens, or by the Ephimerides, but by bowling, by dining, by bankettinge, by hunting, or by rest, when the kinge is pleasauntly disposed, & hath obtayned his desire in some thinge, and if they knowe any other fauourable times of access: than they begin first to spreade rumours of newes, which delite the eares of the prince: afterward by little and little they procede to that which they desire, hauing the counsaile of Aristotle to Calisthenes his scholar, written in the by nature, exhorting him that he should neuer or very pleasauntly speake with a kinge, to the ende that at the kinges eares he shoulde be either more false thorow silence, or more acceptable thorow his communication. But if perhaps the Prince or kinge shall at that time make a good countenance to any of them, and alloweth that which he speaketh, if he shal saye or do any thinge, which is acceptable, if he hath beleued him in any thinge, if he hath called him into a priue place to talke with him, & hath not don the like to other, he then doubtlesse shalbe greatly esteemed of men, and now he wil begin to make al thinges leessfull, he will detract all men, he will

will skorne all men, he will set naught by all men, he will speake ill of men behinde their backes, he wil reprove me openly, he wil speake proude and stately wordes, he wil enterprise to doe euery thing, to the end that al men maie feare him, he wil treade his inferiours vnder fote, he wil dispise his equals, he wil disdain his superiours, he will not only be honoured, but adored, and that with spitefull wordes, he swelleth & puffeth vp with pride, & earnestly desireth to be of authoritie.

Theire vertue and their chiefeft power
is freedome to offende.

He that smileth not on him, & alloweth not euery thinge that he doth to be good, although he doth amisse, straightwaies he hath committed a hainous offence, for he shalbe iudged to enuie his fortune, or not to haue respecte to his duty, neither the be these alone malicious to their equals and inferiours, but oftentimes also they are very dangerous to Princes themselues, whom they most wickedly doe flatter vnder couer of truthe, prudence, reprove, & counsaile, and many times also they incense them to do horrible actes, euen as in Lucane, Curio stirreth Cæsar.

VVhat hath helde backe and made thy force
so feeble, we complaine?

Didst thou not trust in vs? whilst this
warme bloude doth rule and raigne.

In breathing bodies of vs all
and whilst these brawnie boanes

Shal able be fel dartes to flinge
wilt thou permit the gownes

Vnnoble, and the senate eke
to take the rule in hande?

The like motioners had Alexander the Great, which incensed him more and more, to warres and slaughters, he beinge of his owne nature fierce. Suche counsaillers also had Roboam the sonne of Salomon: suche also haue the Princes of our time, whiche fulfillinge their desires, do

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not onely obaye them, but also pricke them forewarde to all wickednesse: or els doo dissuade them, in such sort, that they doo moze instatly prouoke them whilest they alleage very vaine and feeble reasons: to the ende that suffering themselves in this wise to be conuicted, may confirme the erroure of princes, which be of light beleefe: so deceiuing the one part and the other, that they cannot be reprehended, but beside this, they deserue thanks for disloyal treason. Such had Fraunces the Frenche Kinge, veray readye to wicked counsailes, which willingly did incense him to all treason and tyzannye againste the Emperoure: and in the meane season they are esteemed beste, and faithfull. These be sufficient concerninge the nobles of the courte, of whiche he that shall offende one, is culpable of all the reste.

Of the common or meane Courtiers. Cap. 70.

There be also certaine common Courtiers, men of a lewde minde, whiche in all theire life time haue no authoritie ouer any man, but they delighte to be in continuall subiectio, these goe from one noble mans house to an other, and holde vp their tales for a dinner or supper liuinge at other mens tables.

And it suppose a souldier good
to liue by others food.

For that cause they be seruisable to al men, they flatter al men, they playe the parasites with all men, and with all men they endeouour to be al thinges, counterfaying moze shapes then Protheus did, and turninge themselves into moze formes, to get the fauoure of great men, they bende their minds to espie the communications of the feasters, to haue what to tell afterwarde, and with subtiltie of the fore they scarch out their secrets, which be at variaunce, and sometime declare them to theire friendes, sometime to their enemies, shewinge themselves friendly to bothe parties,

parties, whilst that to the one side & the other they be
unfaithful: & so much the more they be meete for treasons,
as they be accounted lesse suspected for the sayninge of
simplicitie. And although there be no offence more hainous
then treason, notwithstanding Courtiers haue no other
thing more profitable & available in y^e Court to get riches,
and dignities, then this, and more grateful and accepta-
ble to Kinges, and therefore they hange about noble mens
houses, and they wil knowe the secretes of the house, and
for this to be feared. And if they haue bene once partie to
any dishonestie, or treason, then they escape, then they
looke bigge. For deare he shalbe to Verres, y^e at all times
can accuse Verres. Than they purchase a certain acquaint-
taunce and familiar friendship with noble men, wherein
they trustinge, do easily compasse that they desire. And
therefore they seeke first to be enrolled among the Cour-
tiers, and that sufficeth them euen without any stipend,
for the title alone without wages is gaineful, & hath his
prize: moreover thei do not mistrust to get the fauoure of
noble men whatsoeuer thei be, whom they do then allure
with flattery, and inforce with humble service, & thruste
themselues into offices for the respecte of friendshippe
or for some other crafte, and they very greedely seeke
all suche thinges, whiche others haue forsaken either for
feare of daungers, or for impatience of laboures, or for
sclender nesse of gaine, they watche daye and nighte, they
trauaile into straunge countries, and carrie and recarrie
theire enterprised embassages, and letters, they attempt
and endure great labours, & undertake to do some thinge
woorthy of the gaile & gallowes, vntil by meanes of these
merites they be made secretaries, or haue the office of the
seale, or obtaine the keeping of the treasure, or diuers ac-
countes of the reuenewe be put into theire handes. And
hauinge escaped the extremities of labours, they will do
no more service without recompence: but afterwarde wilbe
rewarded for al thinges: and hauing together with theire

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late receiued honour chaunged their manners and forgetting al thinges past, and waringe ambitious, do despise their firste offices, alwayes desiringe higher promotion, and ledde with courtousnes do turne all thinges to the praye, and sounde of gayne, nigardes in faithe, prodigal in wordes, at one instant courtise and traisterous, darke in talke, and doubtfull like Oracles, whatsoeuer they see, whatsoeuer they heare, whatsoeuer is don, they take al at the wurste, they truste themselues alone, they loue themselues alone, they prouide for themselues, they truste no mans faithe or friendship, they keepe companie with none but for profites sake, they preferre their owne commoditie before al things, they despise, like vnfruitful trees, all their friendes, guesstes, kinsmen, and companions, that bring no gayne, if any of them meete with their olde companions, they passe by them, as if they knewe them not: if any of these craue his fauoure, him they feede plenteously enough with wordes and promises, and promise moze then they performe, if he bringe nothinge, they leaue him without helpe, or els they lose their suite, they sell all their fauoure, they despise all vertue, and disteine other mennes praises with sundrie opinions, and artificiallye do sclaunder euery man behinde his backe, they prayse no man without exception, like as that oratoure saide, I confesse that Iulius Fortunatus is a worthy man, and it is manifestly known that he hath achieved many valiaunte enterprises, notwithstandinge if I had not knowen the force of his eloquence, I should muche marueile by what meane he escaped iudgemente of byberie and ertorcion. And an other saith:

By these is truly affirmed the prouerb, Fumos vendere, that is, to sell smoke.

A happy man in sonne and wife
was *Prothemus*, in blisse

He had ben, if through *Phocus* death
he had not donne amisse.

Furthermoze they alwaies stande gapinge like *Kantins*, for giftes of the Courte, they prole for profite on euery side,

side, & cathe it from whom they make no otherwise then the Harpies were wonte to take meate euen out of Phinaxus mouth. They reioyce in the misfortune of suche as seeke to excel them, they take compassion on no mans miserie, they thinke not them selues bounde to keepe promise with any man, but at their pleasure, they requite no mans kindnesse, but deeme every man a like vntoworthy of benefite, or through negligence passe them ouer, some they recompence with hatred: but they faigne loue in hatred, & dissemble choler: they honour and reuerence no parson beside the Kinge and the Prince, but not these doubtlesse, if it were not for feare, or gaine. And when, they conuersant in treasons, deceiptes, sorowes, and labours vntill they be hoare headed, haue with these painefull and filthy practises gotten great riches, & aspired to highe honours, then they sette no difference betwene right & wronge, that their sonnes make be heires, not so much of honour, as of rauine, and iniquitee.

So doth the *Storke* her younge ones feede with *Lisardes* founde in fielde.

They also seeke thesame when flushe they flee and make them yeelde.

So doth the *Egles* fierce and other woorthie birdes in woode,

Still hunt the Hare and Goate and bringe the praie to nest for foode.

And afterwarde when that the younge be ripe they hast do make,

Vnto the praie, when hunger leane doth cause their entrailes ake

Assone as they haue tasted it when out of egge they rake.

And these be the practises of the common Courtiers, by meanes of which many bozne of base bloude haue benne aduanced to verie great Offices, Treasourhippes, and dignities, & hauinge gotten the nexte authoritie to these

Kinges, and Princes, they heape vp riches equall to
 Lordes, and builde princely Palaces: whilest in the
 meane season the noble Courtiers doe spende all their
 linelode vpon queans, dise, huntinge, iustinge, feasting,
 pompes, apparaile, and pride, consuminge their landes,
 castels, possessions, and inheritaunce: whiche then these
 common Courtiers buye, succeedinge in the place of the
 nobles, by means of their moste wicked practises.

Of the women of the Courte. Cap. 71.

The women of the Courte haue also their vices.
 For alwaie we see manie endowed with goodly
 giftes of the body, fayre, preatie, handsome, and
 comely. Moreouer richely attired in Purple, Golde,
 Jewels, and vitches: but all men cannot see what filthy
 monsters doe often lurke vnder those faire skinnes. For
 that cause Luciane very aptly dothe compare them to the
 Egyptian Temples. For there the Church is very faire
 without, and also very greate, builde and wrought with
 costely stoanes, but if thou seeke within for their God,
 thou shalte finde either an Ape, a Storke, a Goate, or a
 Catte. So is it of those gentlewomen and Ladies of the
 Courte, which nourished from their infancie, and tender
 yeares in lither idelnesse, in daunsinge, and in all super-
 fluitie, & noursed in most wicked doctrine, of those courtly
 booke of loue, and naughtie histories, comedies, nouels,
 pleasaunt testes, and songes of sensualitie, luste, aduou-
 tries, fornications, and bawdries, haue sucked as it were
 of their nurishe moste damnable manners, lightnesse,
 pride, arrogancie, disdain, impudencie, dishonestie, con-
 tention, ouerthwartinge, stubbournesse, reuengment,
 crasste, sinnesse, malapartnesse, pratlinge, saucinesse, and
 dishonest luste, they haue tongues, to the whiche silence
 is a paine: they haue mouthes armed for al kindes of clat-
 teringe trifles, with whiche they vtter idle & foolish com-
 munication,

munication, and oftentimes displeasing to these, that be compelled to heare them. For what shoulde we thinke them to speake amonge themselves so many howers, but foolish & idle thinges: as, how the heare should be dressed, how it should be kembered, how the heare should be coloured, how the face should be rubbed, after what facion the garment should be playted, and with what pompe they should go, rise, and sit, & what attire they should weare, to what persons they should geue place, with how many bowinges salute, what women, and whome they should kisse, or not kisse, what women ought to ride vpon an Asse, horse, seate & be caried in a chariote, or couche: what women maie weare Golde, Pearle, Corall, Chaines, Ringes hanginge at their eares, Bassets, Ringes, and Tablets, and other trifles of Semiramis lawes. There be also auncient Patrons, whiche tell, how many wolwers they haue had, how many giffes they haue receaued, with how many flatteringe wordes they haue benne wolwed: this woman talketh of him whome she loueth, that woman cannot constantly forbear to speake of him whom she hateth, and euery one thinketh that she speaketh with the admiration of other women, sometimes they maintaine talke with sonde quippies, or very impudente lies. There wante not amonge them cruell hatredes, & eger brawlinges, malitious detractions, backbitinges, false accusations, and whatsoeuer be the vices of a naughtie tongue: they haue eyes, they haue countenances, they haue laughers, full of flickeringe enticementes: they haue becks, they haue gestures full of wantonnesse: they haue subtilties and wordes, with whiche they entice and deceaue their louers, and enforce them to giue giffes: if they haue a ringe, a pearle, an owche, a pretie chaine, what soeuer it be, they gette it with flatterie, or obtaine it with intreatinge, and render for them kisses, kindnesse, entertainementes, embracings, carnal desire, talkinge together, which be to them common marchaundize, & nourishmentes.

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mentes of courtly loue. I am ashamed to repozte what secrete dishonesties be oftentimes done in their chābers, when they are married, in the despite of nature, which after that they haue put on their clothes, suppose to haue couered and hidden all thinges, therfore of what saith the honestie shall we thinke such wiues to be afterwarde towards their husbandes? How sorrowful do they make their good husbandes, when continually they obiecte to them their linage, dowrie, beautie, and other mens marriages, and with scoldinge and tauntinge do weary their husbandes, they alwaies lamente, whilest they dispise householde and temperate fare, and twite their husbandes with the courtly excesse, and bringe enured in pleasant fantasies, and gloriouse ostentation, do consume their riches vpon superfluous ornaments, they bring houses to ruine, oftentimes they enforce their miserable husbandes to dishonest and naughtie gaines, whom daie and night they seeke to destroye with a thousande deceiptes, with dissimulation, treason, and hypocrisie. I speake not of straunge loues, of hidden aduoutries, of others children put in place of theirs, and issue concealed of other mens seede: but if they once turne to hatred, they will feigne ielousie or prepare popson: for (as Hierome saith against Iouinian) guiles, deceiptes, popsons, naughtie medicines, and Magicall vanities be the familiar Artes of wicked women. In this wise Liuia slew her husband, whom she hated to the death: Lucilia killed hers through ielousie, that woman willingly ministred to her husband popson to drinke, this lewd woman made her husbande madde, geuinge him an amorous drinke. Therefore it is saulfer dwelling (as Ecclesiasticus saith) with a Lion and Dragon, then with a wicked woman. He that will haue an obedient wife, lette him not marrie a Courtier. She that will haue an honest husbande, let her not wedde a Courtier. But now my communication is too farre gone with my tounge, notwithstanding I haue spoken it, and

Liuia, and Lucilia slew their husbandes.

I coulde not but haue spoken it. But I wil laie my hande
vpon my mouth, & adde nothinge els to that I haue spo-
ken, and therfore passinge now from the Courte, let vs
examine the other partes of Economic, or ordered house-
keaping, and the doctrines which we haue saide to be the
chiefest emonge the handicraftes, that is, Marchaundise,
Husbandrie, Warresfare, and the reste.

Of Marchaundise. Cap. 72.

MArchandise is a very subtile searcher out of prey
gaines, a very greedie goulfe of manifest spoyles:
neuer content with enough, but alwaies very mi-
serable for the desire to gette: many notwithstandinge
haue supposed this to be no small heape to the common
wealth, fitte to purchase friendshippe of foraine Princes,
and Aliens, and also much profitinge the priuate life of
men, and after a certaine facion necessarie to the same:
and Plinie demeth that it was founde out for liuinges
sake, wherefore many noble and wise men haue not dis-
spised to practise the feate of Marchaundise, such manner
of men (as Plutarke witnesseth) were Thales, Solon,
Hippocrates: but as we doe allowe all Sciences, & Artes
some for pleasure, some we esteeme for traualle, some we
learne for vertue and honestie, some we reuerence for
truthe and iustice, yet although they all be necessarie,
gainefull, pleasaunt, and laboursome, therfore not ho-
nest, commendable, and righteous. In this wise also the
exercises of Marchauntes, retailers, vsurers, bankers,
sowkers be necessarie, profitable, & laboursome, not with-
standinge they are termed seruile, dishonest, & naughtie
trades of gaine: because not their Artes, but busie de-
ceiptes are solde and bought, whiche (as Cicero saith) is
not the dutie of an honest, plaine, noble, iuste, nor good
man, but of a naughtie, base bozne, subtile, craftie and a
wille. For all Marchauntes, and retailers buye in one
place,

Many noble and
wise men pra-
ctisers of Mar-
chaundise.

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*The sayinge of
Augustine.*

place, to sell dearer in an other and aboue the principall, and he is accompted the beste, which gaineth most, whose propertie is to lie, to forswear, to deceaue, and beguile, and no kinde of gaine is to them dishonest: but they saie that the lawes do licence them to deceiue such as traficke with them, vnto one halfe of the iuste price, & there is no doubt, but they commit very many shamefull matters, and deceiptes worthy of punishment, seeinge al their life is bente to gaine, lucre, & riches. For none were wealthy without deceipt, and (as Augustine saithe) he that dothe not deceaue, cannot gaine.

He that doth seeke to sel his wares, and haue the bought,
Doth prayse them more then he of dutie ought.

And an other Poete saithe:

The Marchaunt false, forsweareth God for gaine,
Deseruinge nothinge lesse then euerlastinge paine.

For this cause one buyeth, an other selleth: this man carrieth, that man taketh vp: this is the creditour, he is the debitoure: this man payeth, that man receaueth: an other writeth the accomptes, but all sweare vntreuely, deceiue, and beguile: & refuse no daunger of the soule, of the body, nor of fortune, so that they be in hope of profite, & do not fauour and esteeme kinred, affinites, and friendship for any saithe, but for profite sake alone: and so all men in al ages runne after wealth, and after riches, as if quietnesse from cares, and comforte of life coulde not be founde els where;

The painefull marchaunt to the fardest Indes his course
doth runne,

Through seas, in seeking wealth, through rockes, through
heate of scorchinge Sunne.

But there is no man, whiche is ignoraunt, whiche seeth not, whiche seeleth not what deceiptes Marchauntes do committe in woulle, in flaxe, in silke, in clothe, in purple, in pearle, in spices, in ware, in oyle, in wine, in corne, in horses, and in other beastes, finally in all kinde of Marchandise,

chaundise, except perhappes he which hath not felte their damage. And these be the lesse mischieses, farre greater then these are behinde. These be they, that bringe in hurtfull Marchaundise, whiche women and childzen desire either for seldomnesse, or recreation, whiche tende to no necessitie of life, but onely to superfluitie, to pompe, to beautifyinge, to pastime, to delicatenesse, and pleasure, bringinge them in from the fardest partes of the worlde, as it were snares. They yearly spoyle Countries and Kingdomes of muche monie: they corrupte good manners bringinge in foraine vices, and takinge awaie their countries guise, do studie for newe and strange things, and wrappe it in moste damnable customes. These be they, that makinge felowshippes do ordaine faires againste honestie, dutie, and the lawes, assayinge, devising and seeking all thinges, whereby they make geate goodes of the multitude, whilest, when they haue gathered monie together they overcome some, they preuente some, they feare some from buying, by raisinge the price of thinges, and they alone buye all thinges, which afterwarde they sell as deare as they liste. They oftentimes, when they are farre in debte, & haue planted their dwellinge els where, and haue losse their credite in forsakinge their countrie, and late or neuer retourning home do deceaue their creditours, and make them to dispaire and hange themselves. These be they that wrappe and flaye the Citizens with billes of debte and obligations, planting the rootes of their debtes so deepe, painfull, cruell, and ineuitable, that they cannot be plucked vp, but growinge rounde together, and causinge debtes to springe of debtes do strangle and ouerturne Cities: and they in the meane while incessantly geuen to vsurie, do deuoure the substance of all the people, they sometimes clippe the Coyne, but they do alwaies sometimes raise, sometimes bringe downe the valewe of the monie, as they thinke it auailable for them, not without the

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damage

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damage of the whole publike wealth. They disclose to the enimie the secretes of Princes, whiche they haue espied, the counsailes of Cities, and newes of the Countrie, sometimes also for a peece of monie, they lie in waite to kill Princes, and assaie, suffer, do, and sell all thinges for the loue of monie. All theire trade is nothinge els but lies, dissimulation, cloudes of wordes, prerie sear- chinge, conspiracie, deceiptes, and open treason. For this cause the men of Carthage appointed seuerall shoppes for Marchauntes, and woulde not haue them to be common with the Citizens: notwithstandinge they mighte freely goe to the market. But they were not suffered to come to the shipdokes, and the secretest places of the Citie, no not to see them. The Greeks did not receaue them into theire Cities, but to the ende that the Citizens should be free from suspition of daunger, they appointed y^e market without the Suburbes. Many other Nations did forbid Marchants to come to them, bicause they corrupted man- ners. The Epidaurians, at this daie called the Ragu- seans, (as Plutarche witnesseth) when they perceaued theire Citizens to be made naughte, through the enter- course and trafficke which they had with the Slaunonians, doubtinge that newe thinges should be stirred vp in their Citie, through the conuersation of straungers, hauinge corrupted the manners of theire Citizens, they did yearly chosse a very graue and circumspecte man, out of the whole multitude of the Citizens, which wente to Sla- uonye, and bought such thinges, as euery one of his coun- trie men had giuen him in charge. Plato discommendeth Marchauntes, because thei do corrupt good manners, and thinketh good it be prohibited by the lawe, in a well orde- red common wealth, lest the foolish fantasies of forayne nations should be brought into the citie, and that no citi- sen vnder fourtie yeares shoulde trauaile into straunge cuntries: and that allies should be sent home, bicause that through such like infections of straungers, the citizens do vnlearne

*The ordinaunce
of the Cartha-
gineans, touch-
yng Marchaunts.*

*Marchauntes
after Plato are
corrupters of
good manners.*

unlearne and beginne to hate the forpassed sparing, and auncient customes of their predecessours: through which one thinge, many times cities be come very wicked, and wholly defiled with al kinde of fornications, aduoutries, luxuriousnesse, and dishonestie. Lyons, and Antwarpe at this day very famous saires of Marchaunts doe geue such examples. Aristotle also commaundeth, that wee must be careful, that the cities be not corrupted with the mixture of forraine thinges, and albeit Marchaunts be necessary, yet he woulde not that they shoulde be receiued in the number of citizens: which also he doth exceedingly detest, bicause they delite in lies, and in the cities do trouble the the markets, stire vptumultes, and solwe debats. There was moreouer an ancient law in many comon wealthes, that no marchaunte shoulde beare office, and shoulde not be admitted into the senate, nor Counsaile. The Marchauntes trade is altogeather condemned by the opinions of diuines, and by the Canon decrees, by the authoritie of Gregorie, Chrysostome, Augustine, Cassiodore, and Leo forbid it all true Christians. For (as Chrysostome saith) the marchaunt cannot please God. Let no Christian than be a marchaunt, and if he wilbe, let him be excommunicated. Augustine also saith, that marchaunts and souldiers cannot truely repent.

Of Treasurership. Cap. 73.

Treasurers be not much better then marchauntes, a certaine theuisme kinde of men, and for the molte part seruil and hired for monie, or els because they bestowe their laboure for wages, rude, and stouthful, but presumptuous, and shamelesse: they learne nothinge but certaine slender knowledges, as it is meete for such men to knowe, that is to witte, formes of writtinge, of casting accopt, but chiefly of robbing, not foolish, but more witty then these which appertaine to common thaeues. And for

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Il got, ill spent.

this cause they be the veriest thieues in the worlde, and rich thzough the fingers onely, with which they caste accompts of talents and millions, which they haue so clamorie like birdlime, and beset with infinite croked hookes, that all mony how light soeuer it be fleeting, sliding, and slippery like adders and eales, touched of these doth stike faste, noz can easily be taken awaye. Notwithstandinge they be in this lesse hurtful, aswel because they do robbe the treasours of none but kings, Princes, & noble me, as also because that which they haue stolen fro thence, they willingly spende vpo queans, dise, bankets, buildings, and in feeding of parasits, hozses, howndes, and players. Or els warden elder, and wiser oftentimes do leaue such childern behind them, which unhappily consume al that, cuttinge it in many pæces whiche theire fathers by little and little, and by pæce meale haue scratched togeather w many perjuries, with robberies, with theftes, with damnable deedcs, in feastinge queanige, huntinge, fowlinge and attiringe: and omittinge nothinge to the accomplishing of theire desires. Mozeouer also treasourers take vsury, and deferringe paymentes, do constrain the pensioners to giue rewardes, they robbe debts, captains and they lay their heads togeather, thei make false accompts, they counterfaite obligations, and open letters that be sealed, and signed with forged scales, they clippe the coine, sometimes thei falsifie it with coloured mettall, and therefore they are great friendes to the Alchimistes, and for the moste parte do prolesse that arte, or if they wante wit, at least wise be fauourers thereof. But forsomuche as Cicero saith, that marchaundise ought not to be much despised, if it be greate and plentifull, bringinge many thinges from all partes, and without banitte and that Marchauntes and treasourers maye then of very good right be prayse, if at any time satisfied with gayne, at length do employe themselves to till and trimme theire groundes and possessions: and therefore wee will adde here

here vnder, what is to be thought of husbandrie.

Of Husbandrie. Cap. 74.

Husbandrie therfore, whereunto pasturing, fishing, and hunting are annexed, was so muche honoured emonge the Auncientes, that the Romaine Emperours and renowned Kings and Captaines, were not ashamed to labour the grounde, to sowe graine, & plante trees. Dioclesiane employed himself to this, when he gaue by gouernaunce, and Attalus, also when he had lefte the administration of his realme. Cyrus also, that great king of y^e Persians, was accustomed to awaunt exceedingly, when he shewed to his friends that came vnto him an orcharde laboured with his owne handes, and trees planted and set by him in a rewe. And Seneca planted plainetrees, made pondes with his owne hande, he turned waters, neither was he more willinge in any other place then in the fieldes. Hereof came the surnames of those noble families, of the Fabij, of the Lentuli, of the Cicerones, of the Pifones, that is to witte, of the multitude of these pulses.

Husbandrie in time past great estimation emong the noblest. The boasting of Cyrus.

Of Pasturing. Cap. 75.

In like manner the Iunij, the Bubulci, the Statilij, the Tauri, the Pomponij, the Vituli, the Vitellij, the Percij, the Catones, the Annij, and the Capre, were so called of the pasturinge of cattall. Romulus and Remus, builders of the Romaine Citie, where shepherdes, and Dioclesiane from emonge herdmen was called to be Emperour. Spartacus was a pastoure which caused the Romain power to quake, Paris, and Anchises father to Encas, and the faire Endimion loued of the mone were shepherdes. Polyphemus also and Argus with the hūdzech eyes. And of the Goddes also Apollo kept the herdmen of Admetus Kinge of Thessalia, and Mercurie the inuentoure of the bagges.

Many noble men tooke their names of pasturinge cattell.

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baggepipe was the Prince of shepherdes, and his sonne Daphnis. Pan also the shepherdes God, and Protheus a shepherde, and a God. And to speake of the Patriarkes, of the Judges, and of some Kinges of the Hebrewes they were the chiefest men emonge them, and most acceptable shepherdes vnto God, as iuste Abel, Abraham father of many nations, and Iacob father of the chosen people. In like maner Moses the law maker and familiar Propheete with God, and King Dauid chosen according to the mind of the Lorde, and also emong the auncient Grækes every noble man was a shephcard. Hereof they called some Polyarnec, some Polymelee, some Polybutee, that is to wit, giuing them names of the multitude of Lambes, Sheepe, and Dren. So likewise every man knoweth, that Italie was so called of Calues, which the auncient Grækes termed Italie, mozeouer were not the one and the other Bosphorus, Cimmerius and Thracius, the sea Egeum, Argos, & Hyppion so called of the passage of Dren, of Goates, of Hozles: And Numidia a countrie of Affrike hathe his name of pastures. The first life of men on earth after the fall of Adam, was of shepherdes, this giueth vnto vs beside diuers kindes of fleash, milke, chæse, butter, to eate: and for apparaile, woll, skinnes, and hides, al doubtlesse aswell very necessary, as also profitable to mannes life: which were graunted to man, but after fall, whereas before God had commaunded him in Paradise to eate the frustes alone, whiche the earth naturally brought forth.

*Italie so called
of Calues.*

Of Fishinge. Cap. 76.

*Fishinge had in
greate price e-
monge the Ro-
maines.* **N**exte vnto these come fishinge and huntinge. The study of fishinge was in time past emonge the Romaines in so greate price, and estimation that they did sow in the Italian sea, as it were corne in the ground, strange fishes, & not knowne in y sea coste of Italie, brought in Shippes from farre cuntries, supposing that there was

in

in them a great commoditie to the common wealth. Fur-
thermoze with greate coastes they made fishe pooles and
pondes ful of most pretious fishes, of which finally many
Princes and families of Rome toke theire surnames: as
the Licinij, the Murenee, the Sergij, the Oratee. For this
cause Cicero called Lucius Philippus, & Hortensius nour-
ishers of fishe, that is to witte of their pondes. Wee reade
also that the Emperour Octauiane Augustus was wonte
to angle for fishe: and Suetonius writeth that Nero fished
with a net of golde hauinge the meashes knit with silke
of purple and scarlet colour. There are not verie many
kinds of fishinge for all the fishe that is to be founde is
taken with nettes, with the hooke, with the weele, with
darts, with the rake, and with past. But fishinge is lesse
commended, because fish is of a harde nourishment, & vn-
holsome for the body, noz offerred in the sacrifices of the *Fishe neuer sa-*
Pagan Goddes. For there is noman whiche euer harde *crifised*
that fishe was Sacrificed.

Of Huntinge and Fowlinge. Cap. 77.

Hunting and Fowling, do consist of suche diuises,
as fishinge doth: putting mozeouer the strength of
the body thereto, and diligente searche, and diuers
deuises of Snares, Ginnes, and Trappes: vsinge also
Birdlime, Egles, Hawkes, Dogges, Grethowndes, and
many other tame beastes, meete for rauine and hunting.
A detestable Arte, no doubt, a vaine studie, an unhap-
pie strife, with so many labours, and watches to fighte, &
exercise tyranny against beastes, from nighte to night.
A cruell Arte, and altogeather tragicall, whose pleasure
is in deathe, and bloude, whiche oure humanitie ought to
eschewe. This Arte at the beginning of the worlde, was *Huntinge of the*
the chiefe exercise of mosse wicked menne and sinners, *beginning the*
for the holy Scripture declareth that Caine, Lamech, *chiefe exercise*
Nimbrot, Ismael, and Esawe were sturdy Hunters: and *of wicked me.*

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*Huntinge the
beginninge of
tyrannie.*

wee reade in the old Testament, that none exercised huntinge, but the Ismaelites, the Idumeans, & Nations, which knewe not God. Huntinge was the beginninge of Tyrannie, because it findeth no Authoure more meete then him, whiche hath learned to dispise God, and nature, in the slaughter and bocherie of wilde beastes, and in the spillinge of bloude. Notwithstandinge, the Persiane Kinges had this in estimation, as the very study of martial prowesse, because Hunting, hath in it, a certaine warlike and cruell thinge, whilest that the wilde beaste, renninge befoze the Greddie Howndes with spilde bloud, & mangled fleshe, doth delite the solowers of the chace, and with greate pleasure, doth beholde a moste bitter deathe, as it were a pastime: and in the meane season, the cruell Hunter laugheth, and accompanied with a greate route, as it were one that triumphed, bringeth home the unhappye praye, pulled downe to the ground with a greate crie of howndes, or caught in a Snare: where the there is ordained a cruel quartering, with a solemne Chyronomic, or had law & prescript wordes: (neither is it lawfull to do otherwise) the beaste is rente in peeces, a notable folie of Hunters doubtlesse, and a woorthy battaile, about which, whilest they are too busie, they, settinge all humanitie apart, become saluage beastes, and through monstrous naughtinesse of nature, are channged like Acteon into the nature of Beasts. And also, very many of them, haue runne into so greate madnesse, that they became enemies to nature, as the Fables of Dardanas do declare. The Thebanes are sayde to haue benne the inuentoures of so unhappye a knowledge, a Nation notable for deceipte, robberies, and periuries, discommended for murderinge theire parentes, and for dishoneste companie with theire kinnsfolke, from whome the rules of that exercise were sente to the Phrygians, a Nation no lesse uncleane in liuinge, then they, but more foolish, and balne, whiche, for that cause, the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, very

grate

*The Thebanes
inuentoures of
Huntinge.*

graue people, did dispise. But after that the Athenians, had broken the lawe, which forbade Hunting, and openly allowinge the Arte with the exercise, had brought it into their publike wealth, then Athens was firste taken. For this cause, I marueile that Huntinge is commended of Plato, the Prince of Philosophers, excepte perhaps, that he commended it for the ende, or for the necessitie or honestie of the enterprize, not for the pleasure: as Meleager slew the Boare which spoiled Calidonia, not for his pleasure, but for the profit of the common wealth, deliuering his countrie of a beast, that destroyed it. And Romulus chased the Harte, not for pleasures sake, but for necessitie to feede himselfe, and his companions. There is also an other exercise of Hunting, which is termed Fowling, or Birding, of lesse crueltie, but not of lesse vanitie. Herof Fowlers take their name, which truely doe either hunt birds, or by meanes of birds (as the Prophete Baruch saith) doe playe with the birds of the heauen. It is said, that Vlysses was the inuentour thereof, whome men repute to be y first y after was Troye taken, brought into Græce birds for the praye, and taught to Hunt, to the end that they might be comfortes of new pleasure to the, whiche felte the losse of their parentes, in the Troiane warre: yet he woulde not, that his sonne Telemachus shoulde vse this exercise. At the length, these exercises (of themselves seruile and base) were so much esteemed, that settinge aside all liberall studies, be at this daye the first beginnings and proceedinges of Nobilitie, and by the meanes of the, men aspire to the highest degree of Nobilitie: & in our time, the life of Kinges & Princes, & (which is more to be lamented) the Religiō of Abbots, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Churche, is nothinge els but Huntinge: wherein they doe chiefly occupie themselves, & shewe their worthines.

Plato commended Huntinge.

Vlysses the inuentour of Fowlinge.

VVith dastard beastes their mindes are not content, *Virgil & Eneid.*
but they make vowes

¶

Some

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Some fomie Boare to finde, or Lyon rampinge reade
to rowse.

And they, whiche ought to be the examples of patience,
do seeke daily, to haue some thinge to conquere, & hunte.
And suche beastes as are free by nature, accordinge to
the lawe be theirs which take them, the tyrannies of the
nobles haue vsurped them with dreadfull manacinges:
the husbandmen are driuen from their sermes: the coun-
trie men are put out of their tenementes: the hearde men
are shut out of the wodes, and meadowes, & the pastures
may be stoared with Veneson, to feede & delite noble me,
who are allowed to eate it: wherof, if any countrie man,
or husbandman doth tast, he is accused of treason against
the kinge, and is made a praye to the Hunter, togeather
with y beastes. Let vs diligently reade the things which
are witten, as well in the holy Scriptures, as also in the
Histoires of the Gentiles, where it is not mencioned,
that any holy man, any wise man, or any Philosopher,
hathe at any time bene a Hunter: but very many Shep-
herdes, and some, Fishers. And Augustine saith, that
this is the wurste Arte of all other: and the counsailes of
Elibitane and Orleance, haue forbidden and condemned
this in the Clergie: and in the Canon lawes, Hunters
are not onely forbidden the aduancemēt to holy orders,
but also are disgraded of y highest priesthode, which they
haue receiued. In the same it is reade, that Esawe was a
Hunter, bicause he was a Sinner. Neither doth the holy
Scripture, any where take this woꝝde huntinge, in good
part, wherefoze none ought to doubt but that hunting is
wicked, which is reiected & condēned, by y multitude of al
holy & wise me. In olde time also, when men liued in in-
nocencie, no liuing creaturs flew from them, none hated
them, none hurted them: but al beinge subiecte to him did
obai: the examples wherof are also manifest in the latter
times, in them which did leade an vpright life: how they
ouercame the assaultes of wilde beastes, as Daniel of the
Lions

Lions, Paule the Apostle of y^e Wiper. A crowe nowised
the prophete Helias: Paule and Anthonie Hermites, and
a Harte brought Gyles meate: Helenus the Abbot com-
maunded a wilde Ass, and the beaste obaid him, and ca-
ried the holy mans burden, he also commaunded a Cro-
codile, and he caried him ouer a riuer. Many Hermites
dwelled in desertes, and stode in the denues and caues
of wilde beastes, not fearinge Lions, Beares, nor Ser-
pentes. And so, togeather with sinne, the anoyauce, the
persecution, and the flighte of liuing creatures entred
in, and the Artes of Huntinge were deuised. For as Au-
gustine saith, vpon the thirde of Genesis, liuing creatures
at the beginninge were not venemous, vnfriendly, and
hurtfull to mankinde: but after sinne they became noy-
some and vnfriendly, whiche came to passe accorde to
Goddess iudgement for a punishment of vniust rebellion
of the first parentes, as the sentence was geuen by God
to the Serpente, when God saide to him: I will set ha-
tred betweene thee & the woman, and betweene thy seede
and her seede, of this sentence the battaile of huntinge
toke his beginning, to wete, of men with other liuing
creatures.

The residewe of Husbandrie. Cap. 78.

BUt now let vs retourne to our purpose, Hiero, Phi-
lometer, Attalus and Archelaus, kinges, haue witten
of these Artes already mentioned, of Husbandrie,
of Pasturinge, of Fishinge, of Huntinge, and Fowling:
Xenophon and Mago Capitaines, & Oppiane the Poete:
Moreouer Cato, Varro, Plinie, Columella, Virgil, Crescen-
tius, Palladius, & many latter then these. Cicero deemeth
nothinge better, nothinge more plentifull, nothing more
pleasaunt, nothing more meete for a free borne man then
these. Many haue accompted the soueraigne good, and
chiefest felicitie in these. For this cause Virgill nameth

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the Husbandmen happie, and Horace blessed. For this cause the oracle of Delphos iudged one Aglaus most happie, who labouring a little ferme in Arcadia, neuer went out of it, & so thoro we very little desire, he had very little trouble in his life. But miserable men, whiche reason so deepely of Husbandrie, be ignoraunt that this is the effecte of sinne, and cursinge of the great God. For he castinge man out of the Paradise of pleasure, sente him in to the fieldes, sayinge in this wise to the sinner Adam: accursed be the earth in thy worke, in labours thou shalt eate thereof all the daies of thy life: shee shall bringe thee forth the thornes and brembles, and thou shalt eate the Hearbes of the fielde, with the sweate of thy browes, thou shalt eate thy breade, vntill thou retourne to the earth from whence thou were taken. But none doe more perceaue this then Husbandmen, and labourers, whiche whilest they doe eare, sowe, harrowe, prune trees, delue, mowe, reape, gather grapes, seede cattaille, sheare sheepe, hunte, and fishe: after many labours this man, haninge his groundes spoiled with hayle, and tempeste, doth lose his breade, that mans sheepe or oren die, or be driuen awaie by Souldiers, he loseth his hunted beast, an other his fishe, and the wife mourneth at home, the children weepe, and all the housholde is well neare dead for hunger, and againe with an vn sure hope they retourne to a doubtfull laboure. Besoze this curse there needed no artificiall tillinge of the grounde, no pasturinge, no fishing, no huntinge, no fowlinge, for the earth of her selfe brought forth all thinges, continually flourishing, as wel in Winter as in Sommer, with sweetenesse of frustes, with pleasantnesse of sente, and with greenenesse of meadowes. Finally the earth brought forth no hurtfull thinge, no herbe pestilent through popson, no tree vnprofitable thoro barraines, and also the venime of adders, Wipers, and other creeping worms was set aparte (as Beda saithe) and man hauinge the soueraintie ouer all liuinge

all creatures, he layed burdens vpon wilde beastes as vpon Horses and cattail, he commaunded fishes of the sea, and Birdes flew to him at his beckinge, and asone as man was bozne he had the vse and exercise of all his members, and did leade a most happie life without appa-
raile, without houses, without roasted and sodden meate, and without medicines, for somuch as he had them with-
out labour, as that Poete saith:

The earth to children meate did giue

heate, clothe, and grasse a bedde.

But the offence of sinne, and the necessitie of death hath made all things noysome vnto vs, the earth dothe not now bringe forth any thinge without our laboures, and paines: and also it breedeth deadly and venemouse things (as it were openly vpbraidinge vs that we liue) neither do the other Elementes deale more gently with vs, the sea ouerwhelmeth many with cruell stormes, and monstruouse beastes swallowe them vp, the aile fighteth against vs with thundringes, lightninges, & tempestes, and the Heauen also dothe conspire to oure destruction with mortalitie of Pestilence. Liuinge creatures also are manifestly our enemies, and man (as the Proverbe saith) *A proverbe.* is a woulfe to man, wicked spirites stande rounde about temptinge vs with diuers snares of sinne, to the ende that they maie drawe vs into the darke lodge of punish-
mentes, to be tormented perpetually with euerlastinge fire and cruell paines. And hereby it is scene that Hus-
bandrie is nothinge els, but a losse of the beste thinges, the inuention of naughtie parsons, and the discommodi-
ties of life, with other exercises his adherentes of pastu-
ringe, fishinge, and huntinge, to the ende that we might at least wise for a season auoide, or rather mitigate the barraine-
nesse of the Earth, wante of sustinance, and colde, by the wearinge of skinnes, with whiche mans nature is admonished of the necessitie of death. Husbandrie should haue this no small prayse of our necessitie or calamitie, if
it had

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it had rested within these limites, and not goinge beside
did not teache so many monstruouse forges of plantes,
and so many straunge grassinges and transfozmations
of trees. And also did teache to ioigne Hozles with Asses,
and Woulfes with Dogges, whereof Mules, & Sissikes
be engendzed, and other monstruouse beastes againste
the Lawe of nature. And also it hath taught vs to keepe
in cages, in pondes, in parkes, and in closes, those liuing
thinges to whome nature hath assigned the Heauen, the
Sea, and the Earth, therein to be at libertie, and when
they are blinde, or lame to fatten them in the stale, like-
wise it is conuersant in Hempe, in Woull, in skinnes,
in Silke, and in the thinges which nature geueth for the
apparaylinge of men, of so many weauinges, of so many
colours, and such like Artes inuented for superfluitie &
pompe alone, and very often also for the destruction of
men. Wherefoze Plinie doth complaine of Hempe alone
spronge of so small a seede, whiche nowe a plante, and af-
terwarde a saile with a very little gale of winde dothe
sayle hither and thither thoroowe out the world, and doth
enforce men to be drowned, & deuoured of sea monsters,
as if it were a small matter to die on the lande. I passe
ouer a thousande decrees and obseruaunces of Husband-
men, sheperdes, fishers, hunters, and fowlers, not so
folishe and ridiculouse, as superstitiouse, and contrarie
to the lawe of God: wherby thei supposed that they were
able to swage tempestes, to make their corne prosper, to
drie awaie all noysome thinges, to chase Woulfes and
wilde beastes, to stae beastes that renne awaie, to catche
fishes and birdes with the handes, and to charme the di-
seases of their cattaille, of whiche thinges those wise men
which I haue before named, haue writen with great cre-
dulitie, and diligence.

Of

BUt now let vs passe from Husbandmen to Souldiers, whiche chosen out of the fieldes, be moze meete for the battaile, as Vegetius saith: of whome Cato also affirmeth that very valiaunt & worthy souldiers are begotten. And as the holy Scriptures testifie, the firste fighter Caine was a Husbandman and a Hunter. And Ianus and Saturne very warrelike and Auncient Goddes did leade this life togeather with Husbandrie on earth. Wherefore the Arte of warre seemeth not to be dispised, which as Valerius saith, wonne the Seigniorie of Italie to the Romane Empire, and gaue to it the Kingdome of many Cities, of great Kinges, and of most worthy Nations, it opened the straights of Pontus, and the creekes of the Sea, it broke open the enclosures of the Alpes, & the Mountaine Taurus. Scipio Africanus doth booke in Ennius, that he opened the waie to Heauen with bloude and slaughter of enimies. To whome Cicero dothe also agree, sayinge: that Hercules by the same waie ascended into Heauen. The Lacedemonians are saide to haue taught this firste: for this cause Hannibal goynge into Italie, sought a Lacedemonian Capitaine of warre. When this is guide and Capitaine, kingdomes & Empires be made, and when this is neglected, the mightiest are brought to utter ruine. For warrelike Numance, sumptuouse Corinth, stately Thebes, learned Athens, holy Ierusalem, and Carthage, whiche endenoured to be superiour to the Romaine Empire, at length also Rome, the mightiest of all, fell in the handes of rashe Capitaines. This Arte written with very much bloude of mankinde, and with much more then were the lawes of Draco, dothe trimly *The whole Arte of warre in briefe.* teache to appointe the order of battaile, to set the fronte in good arate, to inuade the enimie, to pzease on him, to pursae him, to compasse him, to strike him on the righte side, and on the leste, to fight vnder the Capitaines Ensigne,

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signe, to marche forwarde, to abide the brunte, to resist the enemies, straightly to pursue them that flee, to cope blowes, to auoyde them that be geuen, or to warde them with the buckler, and not to passe for them, to assaile the enemye fiercely, to encourage the horse, to spurre him, to staie him with the bridle, to turne him hither and thither, to throwe dartes, to brandishe speares, to whirle Javelines, to inuade the fronte, the backe, and side of the enemies accordinge to time & place, neither to flee but when the victorie is past hope: to ensue them that flee, to kill them, to take them, to vnarme them, to spoile them, to discomfite them, to saue their souldiers, to muster them, and renewe the armie, and when victorie is past hope, to inflame the minde with hope of reuengment, & other duties whiche belonge to Souldiers. It teacheth also to prepare Hauies, to bulde Fortresses, to fortifie Castels, to place Garrisons, to make Trenches, to bulde Countermures, to caste ditches, to vndermine, to worke Ingins, to cull out weapons, to ransacke walles, to carrie provision, to imagine deceipte, to place ambushes, & to knowe how to vse sundry warrelike pollicies. Furthermoze to beseege Cities, to hurle dartes, to shote of ordinaunce, to set Ingins to the walles and pearce them throwe, to batter Towers, to scale the walles, to prepare fire, to rase fortresses flatte to the grounde, to spoyle Churches, to sacke Cities, to destroe Townes, to waste fieldes, to suppress lawes, to commit aduoutrie with Matrons, to corrupt widowes, to deflower maidens, to hurte some Citizens, to imprison some, to banne some, to slea some cruelly. Finally all this discipline is occupied in nothing els, but in the destruction of men, it seeketh for this ende, to make famous spoilers of the worlde, and sturdie Homicides, and to transforme men into the manners & fashions of sauage beastes. Wherefore warre is nothinge els but a common slaughter and spoile of many, & Souldiers are nothinge els, then hired thæues, and armed to the

the destruction of the publike weale. Moreover where
as the endes of battayle be doubtfull, and fortune (not
Arte) geueth the victorie, what doe warlike pollicies, am-
bushes, and other preceptes of the Arte of warre auaille?
is not euery Arte vaine, where fortune ruleth? And ne-
uerthelesse the diuine Plato praised this Arte, and com-
maundeth that childezen shoulde learne it, and as soone
as they be of full growinge to be made Souldiers. And
the renowned Kinge Cyrus saide, that it was as necessa-
rie as Husbandrie. And Augustine and Barnarde, Catho-
like Doctours of the Church, in a certaine place haue ap-
proued this, and the Popes decrees doe not disallow it, al-
beit Christe, and the Apostles, be of a contrarie opinion.
Notwithstandinge although Christe disalloweth this, it
hathe no base degree of honour in the Church, whillett
there haue risen so many sectes & orders of holy knightes,
al whose Religion consisteth in bloude, murders, robbe-
ries, and piracie, vnder the pretence to defende, and en-
crease the faith: as if Christe would haue his Gospel pu-
blishe, dnot with the preachinge of the worde, but with
weapons: not with the confession of the harte, and Mar-
tirdome, but with ostentation and threatninge of wea-
pons, with force of armes, slaughters and murders of
men. Neither these knightes be not contente to warre
against the Turkes, Sarracens, and Panymes, excepte
they doe also bringe payes for Christians against Chris-
tians. Finally battaile and warre doe make many Bi-
shoppes, and oftentimes they fight for the Papacie, and
(as that holy Bishop of Camota saith) the Pope entred
not into Sancta Sanctorum, without the bloud of Fræers:
and this is then called the constauncie of Martirdome,
when men fight valiauntly for the Papacie with a great
slaughter of Christians. Xenophon, Xenocrates, Ono-
zander, Cato Censorius, Cornelius Celsus, Iginius, Vege-
tius, Frontinus, Helianus, Modestus and many auncient
Authours haue writen of the Arte of warre: of them of

*Plato praised the
Arte of warre.*

*VVriters of the
Arte of warre,*

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latter yeres, Volturius, Nicholas Machiauel of Florence, James Earle of Porcia, and a fewe other. These searching teachers of Arte, are not so perillous as the practisers. Batchelourship, Mastership, & Doctorship, be not the titles, dignities, and degrees of Scholars, neither do they onely belong to the, which be called Emperours, Dukes, Earles, Marqueses, Knightes, Capitaines, Centurians, Decanes, Standarde bearers, and suche like names of nobilitie sprung of ambition, or iniurie, but theues, spoilers, pillers, murderers, robbers, sacrilegers, fencers, deflourers, balwdes, whorrehunters, adulterers, traytours, stealers of treasure and cattall, dicers, blasphemours, poysoners, parricides, burners, pirates, tirautes and suche like. All whiche he that will expresse in one worde, let him terme them Souldiers, that is to saie, in very deede the barbarous dregges of wicked men, whom a naughtie will, and naughtie minde, stirreth to all mischief: emonge whome a freedome to offende and robbe hath the name of dignitie, and libertie, seekinge on every side to hurte, and hatinge innocencie as a certaine image of death, and as it were be al one bodie of their father the Deuill, whose members they are, whereof Iob saith: his bodie is like Tergates caste in a moule, & compacte with scales touching one an other, one is ioygned to an other, & the winde entreth not thozowe them: & so cleauinge together they shall not be seperated: they holde together, because they haue assembled them selues againste the Lorde, & against his Christe. Purple, Chaines, Ringes, and Miters be not the tokens of warre, but woundes in the breastes, and bodiees disfigured with scarres. An exercise ioygned with nothinge els but with the death, and grieve of very many men, the destruction of manners, lawes, and godlines, differing altogether from Christ, from blessednesse, from peace, from charitie, from innocencie, & from patience. The rewardes therof, are glorie of nobilitie, wonne with the sheading of mans bloude, & enlarginge

enlarginge of Empire with desire of rule, and possession, with the everlastinge damnation of many soules. For whereas victorie is the ende of al warre, noman can be a conqueroure, except he be a manslayer: contrarywise none can be conquered except he dye amisse. Wherefore the death of souldiers is most wicked, whileste sinne maketh them a naughty Etitaph. They which kil, be vnjuste, albeit the warre be righteouse. For murderers be not for this cruell towardes them, whome they wickedly murder, but because they haue serued in warres for the lone of gaine and bootye. And if they kill any menne rightfully, they whiche haue slaine them, placinge themselves in the order of executioners haue deserued this degree of Nobilitie: and although the lawes doe seuerely punish theues, setters of Houses, and Cities on fire, robbers, homicides, murderers, suche parsons vnder the pretence of goinge a warfarre be reckened noble and honozable.

Of Nobilitie. Cap. 80.

Nobilitie then taketh his beginning of warrefarre, that is to saye, honoz of birtbe worthely gotten by the bloude and death of enimies, approued with the peoples rewarde, and aduaunced with publike badges of honours. For this cause arose emonge the Romaines so many sortes of ciuill, mural, obsidional, & naual garlands, so many warrefaringe gistes, bracelets, launces, bardes, chaines, ringes, images, and pictures, wherewith they commended the firste beginninges of nobilitie. Emonge the Carthaginensians thei had so many ringes giuen the, as they had ben present at battails. The Spartanes raised vp so many Obeliskes about the sepulchre of the deade, as he had slaine enimies. Emong the Scythians thei onely might drinke at a common banket in a broade bol of siluer & golde, y was carried about, which had slaine an enimie. The Macedonians had a lawe, that they whiche had not slayne some enimie, shoulde go girted with a halter in re-

The rewarde of
warfarre emog
the of Carthage

A lawe of the
Macedonians.

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proche of vnnoblenes. Emonge the people of Germanie none coulde marry a wife, that had not firste brought to the Kinge the heade of a slaine enimie, and this indignation of de we honour not given to them which had fought valiauntly, induced many against theire countrie, to subuerthe the libertie thereof. Coriolane, the Gracchi, Scylla, Marius, Sertorius, Catiline, & Cæsar be an example hereof. If then wee searche the Originall of Nobilitie, wee shall finde that it is won with shamefull treason and crueltie, if we behold the entrie therof, we shall find it to be augmented with hired service in warfarre, and with robberies, and also if wee seeke the Originall of Kingedomes, and Empires, wicked murderinge of brothers and parentes, bloudy mariages, and fathers driven out of the kingdome by theire sonnes, or Princes slaine by them to whom they haue ben sworn subiectes will offer themselues. But let vs a little consider nobilitie from his beginninge. To tell the truthe it is nothinge els but a sturdye, lewdnesse, and worshippinge wonne with wickednesse the blessing, and inheritaunce of the wurste childzen. The holy Scriptures, and aunciente & fresh Histories of countries doe give vs to vnderstande that it is true. For whereas from the beginninge of the creation of the worlde the transgressoure Adam had engendred his firste begoten Caine a husbandman, and an other Abel a shepheard, in whome mans familie made two wayes, that is to witte, in Abel of the Commons, & in Caine of the Nobles, who whereas he was proude and cruel according to the flesh, persecutinge him after his manner, slewe Abel, who was humble accordinge to the Spirit: but the familie of the Commons was renewed in Seth the third sonne of Adam, Caine therefore was the first that by the slaughter of his brother gaue the beginninge to warfarre and Nobilitie, and when he had dispised the lawes of God, and nature trusting in his owne strength, taking rule in hand was the firste that builde cities, ordained Empire, and began to

*The commons
tooke their be-
ginninge in
Abel and the
Nobles in Caine*

to oppresse free men created of God, and the childerne of holy generatiō, with force, raine, bondage, and with the lawes of iniquitie, vntil that they also despisinge the iudgemente of God, and corrupting all fleshe, and defiled with confused luste begot Giances, which the holy Scripture interpreteth great and famous men of the worlde. And this is the true & aptest definitiō of Noble men. For they did oppresse the poore, exalting themselves with robberies, waringe prowde thoroowe riches, makinge theire names renowned, giuinge them to Countries, Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, Waters, and to the sea, whose first father was Caine cruell by nature, enuious thoroow mortall hatred, not amended by Godes correction, a traitour thoroowe priuie wrath, a murderer of his owne bloude, a wanderer & vagabond thoroow malediction, adding moze ouer blasphemie to maledictiō. And these are y^e auncientest & first dignities, these be y^e vertues, these be the practises, wherewith Nobilitie is commended and set forth, the principall worker whereof was that father of Giances, which the Lord destroyed in the great flowde of waters, reseruing Noë alone, a righteous man in the generatiōs of Seth, with his familie, where as he had thre childerne Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, they when the worlde was renewed after the Deluge, did also builde Cities like the ancient Giances, and appointed kingdomes: For this cause the Scripture maketh no mention of righteous men fro Noë euen vnto Abraham. For all euen vntill Abraham, were Artificers of Nobilitie, that is to witte, of valiante wickednes, of impietie, of confusion, of power, of warre, of violence, of oppression, of huntinge, of luxuriousnesse, of pompe, of banitie, and of such like marks of Nobilitie, which y^e sonnes of Noë did set vpon it: in the number of whiche Cham, because he was moze wicked then the rest, & cruel towards his father deserved to haue the first Monarchie Emprresse of al kingdomes. He begot Nimbroth, whom y^e Scripture describeth mighty in earth, and a sturdy Hunter.

*Nimbroth firste
builded Babylō,
he was y cause
of the confusion
of tongues, and
put difference
betweene nobi-
lities.*

ter against God, this man built great Babylon, and was the beginninge of the confusion of tongues, and taught y discipline to rule, and did put difference betwene degrees of Nobilités, honours, dignités, offices, & armes. From thence for the lawes were made against the Commons, bondage & exactions from the people were brought in, armies gathered, and cruel warres made. From the same Cham proceeded Chus, of whom came the Ethiopians, and Mizraim of whom the Egyptians toke theire beginning, and Canaan, from whom the Cananites descended, moste noble Nations, but very wicked, outcastes, and accursed of God. At the laste after a longe time passe, God did chose againe a righteous man, Abraham the Patriarke, of whome he raised to him a seede and holy people, whom he made to differ from the multitude of other Nations with the marke of circumcision. This man at the beginning begat two sonnes, one of a woman servant, which was a bastarde called Ismael, the other lawfully begoten of a wife who had to name Isaac. Ismael became a cruel mā, an archer, a noble man, and a puissant Prince, leauinge his name perpetually to the Nation of the Ismaelites: and God blessed him, & established his Nobilité in robberye, and warfarre, sayinge: his handes shalbe against al mē, and al mens handes shalbe against him, and he shal plant his tentes ouer againste his brethren, But Isaac abyding in the iustice of his father, sedde his fathers flocke, & this man begat of Rebecca his wife ij. sonnes Esau, and Iacob. Esau therfore was hated of God, redde coloured, hairy, a hunter, an Archer, a Glutton, and giuen to the bellie, so much y for a mease of potage he soulded his right, he was made a mightie man, and Prince of the Idumeans: receiuinge the blessing of nobilitie in the fatnesse of the earth, and dewe of heauen, in the sworde, and puttinge awaye of bondage. But iuste Iacob fleinge to Laban his Uncle, sedde his sheepe, whose two daughters, when for the seruitude of xliij. yeares he had deserued to marrie, he begat of

of them xij sonnes, and was called Israel, which name afterwarde he lefte to his posteritie, that it should be called the people of Israell. Iacob (as I haue saide) had twelue sonnes, to wit, Ruben, Simeon, Leui, Iudas, Isachar, Zabulon, Ioseph, Benjamin, Dan, Nephtalim, Gad, & Asar, after the number of whiche the xij. Tribes of Israel were numbred, But Ioseph, solde by his brethern into Egypt, was instructed in all the learninge of the Egyptians, and became a very conninge interpretoure of dreames, and diuined in a cuppe, he was so skilfull in the science of houskeepinge, that he by the subtiltie of his wit, inuented newe Artes to get riches, and to encrease reuenewe, for which cause, he beinge very acceptable to y^e King Pharao, was by him made ruler ouer all Egypt, and of a seruant was created a noble man after the solemne maner of the Egyptians. For the King put a Kinge on his finger, and a chaine of gold about his necke, and clad him in purple, & caused him to mounthe into a chariote, a cryer makinge proclamation, y^e every man should afterwarde reuerence him, as a noble man, and a Prince. The like manner of ennoblinge in al pointes was emonge the Perseans, as it is reade in the booke of Hester, of Mardocheus y^e Hebrewe, auanced by Kinge Artaxarxes. From thence vntill this day this custome of creating noble men hath remained emonge Kinges and Emperours, of whom some buy Nobilitie for monye, some haue deserued it for batwrie, some for poisoning, some for murders. Treason also hath purchased vnto many nobilitie, & hath gotten them riches, as it is written in y^e Histories of Euthicrates, Phylocrates, Euphorba, & Philagrus. Many haue ben ennobled for flattery, sclaunderinge, false accusation, and deceit: More for sufferinge Kinges to take pleasure of their wiues and daughters, haue ben made noble, huntinges, robberies, murders, inchauntments and other naughty Artes haue brought many to promotiō. But let vs returne to Ioseph. Whereas he was mightie in the Kinges house, and had

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begotten

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begotten his firste sonne Manasses, beinge puffed vp with this casual nobilitie in reproche and despite of his fathers house, sayde these wordes not without offence: God hath made mee to forget my labours, & the house of my father, wherfoze Ephraim the youngeste sonne was preferred before Manasses in blessinges. Finally Ioseph, albeit he was the sonne of Iacob, yet for this estate of nobilitie hated of God, deserued not to beare the name of the Tribe in Israel, but was geuen to Ephraim and Manasse his sonnes. And they had no Prophete in their Tribes, and were blessed with the lest blessing of all, that is to witte, in the strength and multitude of their familie. The people of Israel dwelt many yeares in Egypt, and they were shepheardes in the lande of Gessen, but when they grew to a greate and mighty Nation, they became suspiciouse and hatefull to the Nobles and Kinges of Egypt: wherfoze they punished them with harde labours of claie and brycke, & in al seruage of labours of the earth, & slew their male childerne, drowning the in riuers, that there might remaine none of their seede on the earth. Then one of these, because he was a goodly childe, was saued by the Kinges daughter, who made him her sonne by adoption, and called him Moses, bicause shee had saued him from drowning. Moses thā wared bigger in the Kings house, & beinge instructed in al the learninge of the Egyptians, & helde for the Kings sonne, was made mighty, and Capitaine of Pharoes armie against the Ethiopians. He tooke the Kinges daughter of Ethiopia, whereupon when he had purchased the enuie & hatred of the Egyptians, he was constrained to flee into Madian, where at a certaine well, he enterprysing warre against the shepherdes of that countrie for certaine maidens, by that meanes he gotte one of them for his wife daughter of a Priest, at the length growinge in age and wisdoome, acknowledging his stocke of the nation of the Hebrewes returned into Egypt and the Egyptian Nobilitie renounced, he comforted by God was made

made Capitaine ouer the people of Israel, and with many miracles he brought them out of Egypte, and when the people had offended againste God in the golden Calfe, Moses beinge displeased toke to him valiaunte menne the sonnes of Leui, and commaunded them, sayeing: Hange your swordes by your side, and goinge forth and backe, kill eache of you his brother, his friende and his neighbour, and when they had committed this slaughter of about xxij. thousande men, he blessed them, saying: Ye haue to daye hallowed your handes in bloude euerye one of you in his sonne and in his brother, & the blessinge of Iacob, Simeon, and Leui, whiche called them the fightinge vessels of iniquitee, is fulfilled: whose furie is accursed, and obstinate, and indignation cruell. Wherefore the Nobilitie of Israel toke his beginning in this notable murder: for Moses did then appoint them Princes, Capitains, heades of the armie, Tribunes, Centurians, Quinquagenarians, and Decans fierce men, and worthy warriors thoroow out theire Tribes and kinredes: of which he that seemed to surpasse others in worthinesse and vanesse, to him they attributed the soueraintie and authoritie to iudge. For they had no Kinge, but they were ruled by iudges, of which Iosua a noble mā, a stout, and a warlike conqueroure of Kinges, and fearinge no man, after Moses was the soueraigne, after whose decease thei liued without Prince, vnder Democratia, that is to witte, the gouernance of the people, but falling at sedition, fought emonge themselues, and well nere destroyed the Tribe of Benjamin, that there remained, but sixe hundred men. And because they had wrongfully take away thei daughters, they gaue them iij. hundred Virgins of the prisoners of Iahis Galaad: to the other two hundred thei gaue leaue to take awaye by force y Virgins of Silo. And after this maner was the blessinge of y Nobilitie of Benjamin fulfilled, like to a Wolfe, which in y mourning getteth his praye, and in the eueninge deuiceth the spoile. After

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ward they returned againe to Aristocratie, and gouernment of Princes: among whom at the length Abimelech, the bastarde sonne of Hieroboam, of the Tribe of Manasse, after that they had with a soleinne slaughter killed vpon a stoane threescore of his lawfully begotten brethren, was the firste that did beare rule in Sichem. After this when the people of Israel demanded a kinge, in the displeasure of the Lord, they had kinges geuen them very few good, and many euil. For God was angry, and tolde them, the authoritie of the king, which might take away their sonnes and daughters, makinge them Carters, and Bakers, and accordinge to his pleasure, he mighte take tenthes, and diuide among his seruants, fieldes, flockes, hermes, & men and women seruants, and the best things that they had, and might oppresse all the people with the yoke of bondage, and as often as the kinge shall offende, and do amisse, the people shoulde be punished for him. He appointed them a younge man of the Tribe of Benjamin called Saul, to be their king, a mighty man of body, stature of stature, in so much that he was higher then al the people by the heade and shoulders, & God made them al afrayde, so that they reuerenced him as the Lords seruante. This man, before he began to take rule in hand, was innocent as a childe of twelue monethes olde, and of a passing towardnes, but after that he had gotte & Pobilitie of the Realme, he became a wicked man, and the sonne of Belial. Wherefore God toke awaye the kingedome from the house of Saul, and gaue it to Dauid sonne of Isai of the Tribe of Iuda. And this man likewise of a shepheard made a king infected with the same pestilence of Pobilitie, became the man of sinne, a sacrileger, an adulterer, & a manslayer, notwithstanding God withdrew not his mercie from him. At the beginning he raygned in Hebron when Hisboseth the sonne of Saul raygned on the other side of Iordan, finally the kingdome of al the people was assured to him in Hierusalem. Yet notwithstanding he helde not the

the Monarchie of the Israchites in quietnesse, for while he liued his sonne Absolon inuaded y^e kingdome in Hebron, and when he was slaine, Siba the sonne of Bochra, inuaded the kingdome a frethe. After this in like maner Adonias sought meanes, & endeouored with all study to attaine to y^e kingdome. But Dauid, beinge aboute to die, appointed Salomon his yongest sonne, begotten on Bethsabe y^e adul- tresse to be his heire, & he was the first y^e had y^e Monarchie of the Hebrewes, which he establisshed with the death of Adonias his eldest brother, & likewise after he was made kinge, he wente out of the right waie after women into Fornications, and Idolatrie, forsaking the laue of God; & his naughtie sonne Roboam succeeded him in the state, a wicked man also, and a sinner against God: and therfore the Monarchie of the people was taken from him, & ten tribes rebelled againste him: and made Hieroboam their kinge, a most wicked man, of the Tribe of Dan, who poi- soned all Israhel, withdrauinge ten Tribes from God to Idolatrie, erectinge Calues in Samaria, that the blessinge might be fulfilled saying, Dan is a Serpent in the waie, and a Dragon in the pathe bitinge the horse heele, that his rider maie fall backward. But the Tribe of Iuda rested vnder the seide of Dauid, euen as Iacob blessed it, that the Scepter shoulde not be taken from Iudas, untill Messias came. This Iudas was the worst of the sonnes of Iacob, and had dishonestly behaued himselfe with his sonnes wife, and his children were moste wicked and naught: wherefore he had the blessinge of nobilitie in the Scepter of his kingdome, & in the strength of the Lion: at the length also the people of Edom and Lobne, depar- ted from the Kinges of Israhel, and created Kinges accor- ding to their wil and pleasure, as God blessed Esau, that he, as he listed might shake of his yoke. But emonge all the Kinges of Iuda and Israhel, scantly fower haue benne founde good. Wherefore when the Kinges were expulsed, the Jewes with all the nobilitie were carried prysoners:

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and captiues into Babilon: and eftsones after a long season thoroꝝe the mercy of God retourned to Hierusalem and happely gouerned their common weale for a certain space vnder Priestes, Noble men, and populare Magistrates, vntil Aristobolus, Hircanus sonne, crowned himselfe kinge, and with the slaughter of his Mother & Brethren restored the kingdome of the Iewes, whiche afterwards continuynge by many Kinges, lastly ended vnder Archelaus a proude, & dishonest kinge, when Iudea was made a prouince of the Romaines, & at length destroyed vnder Titus and Vespasiane, all the people beinge scattered abroade thoroꝝe out all the worlde vntill this daie for a perpetuall bondage. Wherefoze I thought good to take these thinges out of the holy Scripture, to shew that since the beginning of the worlde there hath bene no Possibilitée, which hath not had a naughtie beginninge, yea in the people of God, and that nobilitée to be nothinge els, but the glozie and rewarde of publike iniquité: wherein the more the life is distained, the nobler it is, the more mischieuous actes, the more rewarde and glozie: as Diomedes the pirate pteately saide to Alexander when he was taken: I, because I robbe with one shippe alone, am accused for a pirate: thou, because thou doest it with a great naue, art called an Emperour: if thou were alone, and a prisoner, thou shouldest be a thiefe, if the people obeyed me at a becke, I shoulde be called an Emperour: For as touchinge the cause we differre not, sauinge that he is warste, that taketh more wickedly, that forsaketh iustice more contemptuously, and that resisteth the lawes more manifestly. For them, whiche I flée, thou pursuest: them which I honour, as I maie, thou dispisest, the crueltée of fortune, and pouertie maketh me a thiefe, and thée, intollerable pride and unsattiable greedinesse. If my fortune would ware more sauourable, perhappes I shold become better: but, the more fortunate thou shalt be, the wickedder thou wilt be, Alexander maruellinge at the constancie

*The aunswere
of Diomedes, to
Alexander the
Great.*

constauncie of the man, he caused him to be bilde for a
 Souldier, that afterwarde he mighte go on warrefare,
 that is, to robbe. Nowe passinge to the Histories of the
 Gentils, we declare likewise that nobilitie is nothinge
 els, then rauine, madnesse, robberie, thefte, manslaughter,
 riote, huntinge, and violence spronge in euery place
 of mosse wicked beginniges, continued by wurse, and
 alwaies to haue had a very dishonest ende: whiche thinge
 shall manifestly be seene in these fower famous Monar-
 chies, and afterwarde also in the raignes of other Noble
 men. The firste Monarchie after the deluge was that of
 the Assyrians, which Ninus beganne, who firste of all not
 contented with his owne limites, through desire to en-
 large his Empire, auanced standerdes out of his Coun-
 trie, and makinge blouddie warre vpon the borderers,
 subdued al the people of the East, and alwaies encreased
 the greatnesse of his gottē Empire with freshe victories,
 and continual augmentation of foraine Countries. Asia
 beinge subdued, & Pontus conquered. After this he slew
 Zoroastes Kinge of the Bactrians vanquished by him in
 battaile. Ninus wife was called Semiramis, shee (as Dion
 the Historian recommenth) desired her husbände to raigne
 fve daies, which thinge graunted and obtained, shee cau-
 sed the crowne and robe to be made readie, & sate downe
 in the royall seate, and commaunded the garde to kill
 her husbände Ninus, and spoyle him of his princely orna-
 mentes, who after that he was in this manner mur-
 dered, shee succeeded him in the Empire: and not conten-
 ted with the boundes of the kingdome, ioygned Ethiopia
 to her Empire, shee made warre in India, shee compassed
 Babylon with a stately walle, lastly shee was slaine by
 Ninus the second, her sonne, whom shee had wickedly co-
 ceaued, cruelly caste out to be perished, and incestuously
 bled. The Monarchie of the Assyrians gotte the Souer-
 raintie by these murders of parentes and kinsfolke, un-
 till it failed vnder Kinge Sardanapalus a man more cor-
 rupte.

*Semiramis slew
her husbände.*

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rapte then any woman, whome Arbactus Lieutenant of Media findinge emonge flockes of Harlottes, slewe, and he proclaiminge him selfe kinge, transposed all the Empire from the Assyrians to the Medes, and at the length Cyrus brought it to the Persians, emonge whome, his sonne Cambises builder of newe Babylon, hauinge toygned therunto many kingdomes, helde the seconde Monarchie, whiche he defiled with the murder of his brother and sonne: finally it fell to Nursus the sonne of Ochus, whome, after he was slaine by Bagous the gelded man, Darius the Persian, sonne of Arsous succeeded, firste called Gademarus, who vanquished by Alexander the Greate, togeather with his life ended the Monarchie of the Persians, whiche, the same Alexander beinge accessarie, and a counsaillour of his Fathers death, togeather with his aduoutrous mother by meanes of this famousse murder, broughte to the Macedonians, and this was the thirde Monarchie, which also failed when Alexander was dead. The fourth succeeded whiche was the Monarchie of the Romains, then the which, there was none mightier in the worlde, but if we beholde the processe of times since the buildinge of Rome, we shall finde that it had his original of wicked beginninges, & very often continued by wicked men, wherefore we will fetch these thinges farre, and from the firste builders of Rome. The Citie of Rome was firste builded in Italie by two brothers, Remus and Romulus, begotten of an incestuouse Vestal virgin, and nourished by a Harlotte, whose kingdomes Romulus, like Caine, defiled with the death of his brother. And for so much as he suffered him selfe to be called the sonne of the Gods, gatheringe a power of wicked attendauntes and promisinge them surette, rauished the daughters of the Sabines, and geuinge them to wiares such as they did chouse, begatte Giauntes, I meane, those Binges and Barons of the Romane nobilitie, feared of all the worlde. And than when they had with deceitfull league, & trayterouse

ferouse pastime allured the women and daughters of the Sabines dishonestly rauished, and with cruell mariages coupled to him, and his, and gotten with the slaughter of their parentes, & husbandes did after this defende them wth other freshe murders: For notable to refraigne from y^e blonde of his ffather enlawe, did cruelly murder Titus Tatius, a righteous old man, and a most noble Capitaine of the Sabines, being partaker with him in his kingdome. These were y^e beginninges of the Romane raigne, which gouerned for the space of two hundzeth, fortie and threë yeares vnder cruel kings, and ceased vnder Tarquinius the proud for the shamefull acte of deflowred Lucrece. And euen as the successiō of Cain perished in the seventh generation vnder the deluge of waters: in like manner also these successours of Romulus were oppressed in the seventh number of kings by the insurrectiō of the people: & although the Citie of Rome had abolished the rule of kings, neuerthelesse it was not free from tirannie. For after that the kings were expulsed, when after the great commotion of the people, the kingdome was transposed to the heade men of the Citie, one Brutus a noble man was firste chosen consul of the Romans. This man, to the ende that he might establishe so great an Empire, wente about, not onely to counteruaile in murder kinge Romulus, the firste builder thereof, but to surpasse him also, for somuch as he caused his two Sonnes being younge men, and so many of the Vitellij whiche were his wifes brothers, to be whipped with roddes, and to be beheaded in the middle of the market place. And when this Empire had continued a longe time vnder the nobles and commons by diuers Magistrates, & priuate tirannies, it ended vnder Iulius Cæsar, a man, it is harde to saie, whether moze valiaunt in battaile, or corrupte in Lecherie, and after ward ended estsones vnder Antonie the bonde slaue of Lecherie, and the whole Empire of the Romanes passed to Octavian Augustus the Emperoure, in him the

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fourth Monarchie of þ world toke beginnunge, and not without murder, although this Augustus was accompted the mildest of all other Princes, notwithstandinge he killed a boye & a maide, the children of Cæsar his vncke & Cleopatra, by whom he was adopted, and appointed heire in the Empire, hauinge respecte neither to the name, nor to the benefite, nor to the kinned, nor to the childehode. After this manner the Romane Princes gotte the Monarchie of the worlde, and begate Nero, Domitian, Caligula, Heliogabalus, Galien, and other monsters of crueltie and lewde life, vnder whom the whole worlde trembled: vntill Constantine the Create, after he had slaine Mezentius, who for his sensualitye and crueltie was hated of the Romane people, was declared Emperour by the Senate. This Constantine, when he repaired Bizance, and made it a Citie, contendinge with Rome for glozie, and for that did commaunde it to be called newe Rome, and of his name Constantinopolis, woulde that it shoulde be the seate of Emperours, and brought the Romane Empire to the Greekes, and did consecrate it at Constantinople, as Romulus did at Rome, with the slaughter of the two Licinij, husbände and sonne of his sister, and with the murder of his owne children and wife: and the Empire continued amonge the Greekes vntill the time of Charles the Create, in whome onely the name of the Empire passed to the Germans. But wee haue hitherto sufficiently spoken of Monarchies. Lette vs consider the beginninges and ends of some other kingdomes, and we shall finde that they had no better beginninges, nor gotten with lesse abominable vices, nor againe vndonne with lesse sensualitye. I will not speake of the murders of Dardanus, & in what manner he being perswaded to commit a mischeuous deede, was the firste Kinge of the Grecians. I will also passe ouer the gouernaunce of women gotten by the murders of men, as the Histories doe recorde of the Amazones. Let vs passe to latter times, and nearer

nearer to our age. In the time of Theodosius the Empe-
 rour, the firste that raigned in Spaigne was Atanaricus
 the Gothe, but at the same time also the people Alani, &
 the Vandales possessed Spaigne. Suitilla was the firste of
 the Gothish Kings, that had the Monarchie of Spaigne,
 whiche, lastly kinge Rodericke, because he had defloured
 Iulia, daughter to the Lieutenant of the prouince Tin-
 gitana, losse, bringinge the Empire of the Gothes to an
 ende, because the Saracines did than inuade Spaigne: af-
 terward whē certaine places were recouered vnder king
 Pelagius, than firste they beganne to be called kinges of
 Spaigne, & nomore of Gothes, the title of the kingdome
 remaininge in the Citie of Legio, vntill the time of Fer-
 dinandus the sonne of Sautius, who firste proclaimed him
 selfe kinge of Castell, and after that he had slaine his bro-
 ther Garfia, with that murder he gotte also the kingdome
 of Nauarre. But their brother Ramirus, whom their fa-
 ther begatte on a concubine, a warrelike and fierce man
 became the firste kinge of Aragon. But Alphonfus was
 the first king of Portugal, begotten by Henry Lotharing,
 and Tyresia the bastarde doughter of Alphonfus king of
 Castell, a man valiaunt in armes, who in one battaile
 alone ouercame fise kinges of the Saracines, for this cause *The cause why*
 the kinges of Portugall beare in their tergates the signe *the Kinges of*
 of fise shieldes: not withstandinge this Alphonfus was *Portugal beare*
 cruell towarde his mother, whom he caste in perpetuall *in their tergates*
 prison, because she married the second time, neither could *tes fise shieldes.*
 he be turned with any desires of his friendes, nor with
 the thzeatninges of the Church to set her at libertie. Fi-
 nally all these kingdomes of Spaigne haue bene gotten
 with mischieuous actes, or established with the same pra-
 ctises. The beginniges of the kingdome of England be
 fabulouse: This Ilande was afterwarde inhabited & sub-
 dued ouer all vnder diuers kinges, & of many Nations,
 of the Pictes, Scottes, Danes, and Saxons. Lastly it gotte
 a quiete Monarchie vnder William Conquerour, which

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*Hewgh Capete
a Bouchers
sonne Kinge of
Fraunce.*

he established to him and his posteritie with the murder of Atolde, his Cousin kinge of the Weste Saxons, whose succession remaineth vntil this daie very famous, for notable murders. I speake not of the kingdomes of Burgundie, and Lombardie, first begon by the farthest people of Germanie, in Fraunce, & Italie, on this side by kinge Gondaicke, on the other side by kinge Alboync, and afterwarde continued with moste cruell murders. Let vs behold the mightie kingdome of the Frenchmen, his firste beginninges toke originall of Pharamond, sonne of the Capitaine Morouce, who first cominge out of Germanie into Fraunce, was made the firste kinge of the Frenchmen, passing euery man in crueltie and fiercenesse. This kinges line endured vnto Childericke the thirde, who for negligence in gouerninge the common wealth, & for vnlawful luste towardes Matrones, being driuen out of his kingdome, was enforced to flee into a monasterie of Monkes, Pipine of the elder house succeading him in the kingdome, which he gettinge to him selfe & his posteritie by treason afterwarde, with the murder of his brother Grifo, established it euen vnto y^e time of Lewes y^e first Lotharies sonne, who was paysoned by Blanche his wife for committinge aduoutrie, Hewgh Capete than inuadinge the kingdome of Fraunce, a swashbuckler, a cruell man, and a worthie warriour, who for these Artes, was much esteemed of the people of Paris, otherwise vnnoble and a Bouchers sonne. This man rebelled against Charles the vncle of Lewes, & the true inheritour of the kingdome, hauing gathered a pover of naughty knaues, & an armie of wicked theues, he caste the saide Charles in pryson at Orleance, who was yelded into his handes, and enforced him there to die, thus when he had committed this murder against the Kinge, & his Prince, he put on y^e crowne, and hauing chaunged the Boucherie for a kingdome, he and his posteritie afterwarde reigned in Fraunce: whose succession continueth euen to this daie, vntil that it come to

to decaie againe thozowe some slaue of harlottes and Lecherie. It should be ouer longe in this place to reckon by the beginninges of all kingdomes, and to range thozow al the hystories of antiquities. I haue els where described in a larger volume, this thinge which I haue here briezly touched, I haue by pcece meale set forth nobilitie in his colours, and proportions, and I haue shewed that there neuer was, nor presently is, any kingdome or greate dominion in the world, which hath not begonne with murder of parentes, treason, disloyaltie, crueltie, slaughter, death, & other horrible mischieses, the very Artes of nobilitie, whereof sith there be such heades, we maie easely perceiue, what other members this beaste hath, and all these readie and exercised to violence, raine, murder, Huntinge, sensualitie, and to all kinde of dishonestie.

He that wilbe Noble, let him firste be a Hunter: this is *Howe a man* firste beginninge of Nobilitie, afterwarde a hired Soule *should be noble.* dier, & let him serue an other for monye to commit murders, this is the true vertue of Nobilitie, wherein if he shall shewe himselve a stronge thiefe, there is no greater glory of Nobilitie. He that is vnnete to do these things, let him buy Nobilitie with mony: for it is solde aswell as other things: or if he cannot do this, let him be the Kings parasite, or bring himselve in fauour by some other courtly deceipte, let him be bawde to the Whores of the Palace, or make his wife or daughters comon to the Prince, or let him fulfil the appetite of Ladies, or marrie y Kings Concubine, or take to wife their bastard daughters, this is the highest degre of Nobilitie: for he is made one body with them. These be the wayes, these be the ladders, and these be the steppes, with which, thozow a short path men ascende to the highest perfection of Nobilitie. But they that wil seme in theire kinde more Gentlemanlike and Nobleste of all others, anaunt that they are descended of suche men, as euery man woulde dispise, that is, straungers, Troians, and Macedonians, wandring and stinge

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from doubtful countries, and overwhelmed with a thousand offences most heinous, and notwithstanding (on Gods name) we must praise and extol this their Nobility, which hath had so dishonest beginnings. Some borne of Whores and Harlots, do cloke this shame with fables, as we reade of Melusina. There be of them which haue had other wicked beginnings, incest, deflowerings, ravishings, aduouteries and such like. In this wise Balduine for graunting his daughter Iudith to Charles the balde was created the firste Earle of Flaunders. Likewise y Marquesses of Piemont, that is to wit, of Mountefarrate, Salutia, Sene, & many other were created by the Emperour Otho, in consideration of one of their daughter, which he deflowered. For Kings and Emperours were wonte sometimes to auance their wronges to honour with some title of dignitie, which they be not able to reuenge without great shame. There are moreover foure principall pointes, in which al their felicity doth consist: The firste is their extortion, where with against al right and equitye, they hold, take and possesse: the other is voluptuousnes, wherewith they accustome themselves in all kinde of luxuriousnes and sensualitye: the thirde is liberty, where with the lawes neglected, they enuironed with the force of violence, do al thinges as they liste: the fourth is ambition, where with they puffed vp do seeke aboue their estate and condition, for higher promotion with al kinde of wickednesse. Finally the sufficiency of all gentlemen is herin declared, if they can hunte, if they haue bene damnably taught in disinge, if they shewe the strength of their body with greate quaffinge, if they declare the strength of nature by the often vse of Venerie, if they spende frankly and lustely, if they geuen to pride, to excesse, and to all intemperancie, and enemies of vertues, do forget that they were borne and that they shall dye. But they be muche more noble, if this wickednesse shall descende from the Fathers to the childerne, & enter into

Into them with greate authoritie: as

If damned dice the Father doth

delite, the galante sonne

VVill playe, and make the squared boanes

on plained borde to ronnc.

These be the goodly vertues of Gentlemē. But they haue mozeouer certaine other Artes of Nobilitie, in the which they beinge warste of all, endeouore that they maye seme to be good and honest men, and appeare honourable for their wisdome, liberalitie, godly zeale, and iustice, thei shewe themselves so gentle, pleasaunt, and courteise in language, & notable in the dissimulation of all vertues: they make theire wordes moze caulme then oyle, & they be darteres, they dayly make sumptuous bankets: and reason very franchly of the publike wealth in their talke and communication, and geuing eare to other mens opiniōs, do therby get them the fame of wise and woorthy men in the counsailes of Princes: and do wrongfully take the same of liberalitie of couetousnes, whilest they be like liberall thieues do take from one that whiche they geue to an other, which the ancientes write also of Scylla, whilest they goinge about to enriche one with the wronge of an other be alwayes poze themselves, for al their continual robberies. Wherefore they seeke for the name of iustice & goodlines, whilest they willingly take in hand to defende poze mens quarrels, and maintaine their causes against the richer sorte, but they onely helpe these oppressed parsons, vntil they haue emptied the wealthy mens pockes. Neither do they minde to profit the poze, but to hurt the riche, whiche is easier for euery of them to do then to do good, and oftentimes with this shadowe of righteousness and godlinesse they claime to themselves so great a libertie, that they do wronge to Cities, & to the greatest personages, and trouble them with common enmitie: and of whome for the authoritie of the Lawes noman may hope for pardon, these vnder the pretence of Nobilitie haue attained

*The swissers
slew their
nobles.*

*They whiche
haue not offen-
ded may some-
times be put to
death.*

tained to glory, and no otherwise then ancient Giants
do glory in their offences, and for so much as like devils
of hell they seeke on euery side to do harme, than they are
thought chieflie to do good, whan onely they cease to do
harme, endeavouringe to feare all men and to be loued of
noman, layinge in a parte with all naughty and wicked
men, and do spoile and oppresse such as committed them-
selues to their custody: neither is there any kinde of men
more pestilent to Cities then these Nobles, whiche plea-
sing themselves do alwayes swel with a proude minde
as though they were more Gentlemanlike then others.
Of which for this cause Aristophanes hath not couailed
amisse, sayinge, that Lyons ought not to be nourished in
a Citie, but if they be brought vp: we muste do as they
will haue vs. The Swissers in time past being oppressed
by these mens Tyrannie slew their Nobles, and rooted
al their progenie out of the countrie, with this notable
murder of Nobles, they haue gotten a name renowned
for their prouesse, togeather with libertie, wherein they
haue happely ruled & reigned more then foure hundred
yeares until this daye, and haue alwayes hated this ge-
neration of Noble men. None were once more acceptable
to the people, nor reputed worthier of greater rewards,
then they which had slaine tiraunts, together with their
complices and maintainers, and also their innocent chil-
derne, moreover the Lawiers teach that sometimes they
which haue not offended may be righteously put to death,
if that be available to the common wealth, as when a ty-
raunte is slayne, to murder also his childreen, because no
newe tyrannye may springe vp: as the Grekes, after
the destruction of Troye, slew Astyanax the sonne of
Hector, to the ende that there might remaine no occasion
to make warre eftsones. Let vs peruse the Historiogra-
phers of ancient time, Titus Liuius, Iosephus, Egesippus,
Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Serenus, Tranquil-
lus, and the residue, & we shal finde that it was alwayes
lawfull

læful to entrappe tyrauntes, that it was læful to deceiue them; very honest to kil them, and also to poyson them, as Tiberius the thirde Emperoure after Iulius Cæsar was slaine: but albeit poysoning hath euer ben detestable, yet the world dæmed that to geue life wherewith he was killed. The holy Scriptures doe witnesse the same in Eglon, in Sisara, in Holofernes, whome Aioth, Iahel, and Iudith slewe: whiche was læfull euen in the presence of God, to shake of the yoke of bondage with the death of tyraunts for their misdoedes, and al they by whose prowesse the afflicted people were deliuered, be honoured in the holy Historie of the Bible for the Ministers of God. But now we doubt not that Nobilitie is naught, not so much for vse, & custome, as for nature: for emonge birdes, and fourfooted beastes, none els haue the prerogative of Nobilitie, but suche as are not so ennious as hurtfull vnto other liuing creatures and to men themselues, as Eagles, Vultures, Falcons, Hawkes, Ravens, Kites, Ostriches, the fabulous Harpies, Griffons, Mermaydes, and suche like monsters. In like manner Tigers, Lions, Woulfes, Livers, Beares, Boares, Dragons, Serpents, & Loades. Of trees there haue ben fewe or none accompted Noble, and dedicated to the Heathen Gods, but they which haue ben either barraine, or bringe forth no fruite for men to eate, as the Oke, the tree called Esculus, the Beeche, the Baye, the Myrtle. Emonge stoanes not marble, not them wherewith men builde, not them y^e grinde co^rne be accepted y^e noblest, but they that be pretious, as Diamondes, Rubies, Pearles, and suche like, and bringe no commoditie vnto men. And so in Mettals, Siluer whiche causeth very much mischief, and Gold more hurtful then Iron, be moste esteemed and accompted the beste, for whiche the people fight one with an other with many slaughters and losse of mans bloude.

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Of Heraldrie. Cap. 81.

*Beasts infamous
in armes.*

*The Romaines
saued by Geese.*

From hence came moreover that noble Arte and Philosophie of Heraldes, very much occupied in appointing and geuing the creastes of Noble men: to whom it is an hainous and infamous thinge to beare in armes any beast that carieth burdeins, or Calfe, or Sheepe, or Lambe, or Capon, or Hen, or Goose, or any such beastes or birdes, whiche are necessary to men, for seruice or vse: but al men ought to begin the badges of their Nobilitie with cruell and greedy beastes. In this wise the Romans chose them the Eagle the greediest of all birdes, the Phrygians the Sow a hurtful beast, the Thracians, Mars, the ancient Gothes, the Beare, the people Alani that inuaded Spaigne, the Catte a greedy and craftie beast: the olde Frenchemen, the Lion, the Saxons also the same: but afterwarde the Frenchemen that inhabited Fraunce took the Adder, the Saxons, the Horse a warrelike beast. The Fleminges beare the Bull in token of valiauntnes and hardines. The ensigne of King Antiochus was an Eagle y^e helde a Dragon in his clawes, of Pompei, a Lion with a sword, of Attila, a crowned Genet. And y^e Romans themselves, whiche were saued by Geese that watched in the Capitoll againste the Frenchemen, coulde not be moued for so greate a benefit receiued to beare a Goose in their ensignes. Perhaps there be of them, which beare in their armes a Cocke and a Goate because they be proud and lecherouse: which be the especial endowmentes of noble men. For the same cause they beare the Peacocke for pride: and the Lapwinke, which seemeth to haue some royall thinge, and weareth a crowne: neither doth it endamage Nobilitie, that he maketh his neste in ordure, for in time past Vaspasiane the Emperour also took tribute of urine, saying: That the saour of gaine did not stinke. Many small liuing thinges moreover haue a prerogative in these armes, if so be they teach some destruction, otherwise

wise not to be admitted. In y^e nūber of these be Connies,
Wants, Frogges, Locustes, Wile, Serpents, Salpeges,
Scolopenders, by whichē it is supposed (as Plinie saithē)
that people haue sometimes bene dzenen awaye, & Cities
destroied, and for the same causes also we wil very glad-
ly graunt to them gnates, puneses, flies, and if they will
botches, bleanes, biles, pestilence: for with these in time
past was Egypt scourged vnder Pharaon and Moses: and at
this daye also they be accompted more Noble then other, *A noblenesse
more the beaſtly.*
which are garnished with y^e Frenche pockes. There be of
the also which set in their Shielde, Swords, Daggers,
Halberds, Ares, Hagbuttes, Towers, Castles, Ingins,
Fiers, and many other instruments of homicide, and de-
struction. Furthermore the ensignes of the Scythians was
in time past lightninge, of the Persians a bowe & quiers,
of the Corallans, whēles. Likewise emonge the Heathen
Gods Iupiter chose lightning, Neptune the triplettoed
mace, Mars the Traeling, Bacchus the Speare wrapped
in Bowes, and Iupe, Saturne the lieth. And euey one of
these badges of armes accordinge to the expression of his
cructy, rauine, violence, manhōde, rashnesse, and other
vertues of Nobilitē, as the Herauldes do appointe, are
supposed some nobler then some. And the tergates that
want them & do expresse milder things, as trēs, flowers,
starres, & suche like, as Apoloes harpe, Mercuries rodde,
or be parted with the onely varietie of coloures, be much
more latter, & lesse noble then the firste, because it is not
thought that they haue not ben gotten with any martial
prowesse, or with any other skil of bloudshedde or death,
yet it is a marueile to see with what a foolish wisdomē
these Herauldes of armes do play the Astronomers, Phi-
losophers & deuines in these matters, whilest they attri-
bute the duskie and blacke colour vnto Saturne, ascribing *vvhāt is mente
by the coloures
in armes.*
to it for that cause, constancie, silence, and patience: they
will moreouer that the blewe and asure colour signifie
saithē, or after the opinion of the Frenchemen iealousie

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makinge Iupiter the ruler therof. In redde thei expounde
wraath and reuengement, for the Seignourie of furiose
Mars. The yelow colour of golde is dedicated to the
sonne, and thei say, that it signifieth desire and mirth, for
the price of his mettall, & for the most cleare shining of the
sonne. They assigne purple and grene to Venus, and thei
say that purple signifieth loue taking pleasure in roseall
colour, but the Frenchemen woulde haue it to importe
subtiltie of treason. Greene by the consent of al men both
signifie hope, because when the feldes ware greene, men
hope for fruit. The white colour is attributed to y^e mone,
which although it be simple without mixture, yet easilie
taking al mixture, they wil that it signifie purenes, plain-
nesse, aptnesse. Al the other mingled colours they attri-
bute to Mercurie, who as he is wandring and vnconstat,
so do they declare the varietie of the minde. For ashy co-
lour, as nighest to blacke, signifieth trouble of minde: car-
nation as of bloude letten, secrete greife of the minde, or
hidden thought: but yelow, cleare, or darke, like leaues
when they fall, and witheringe herbes, desperation and
suspition. It shoulde be longe to rehearse the clatteringe
toyes that they sayne of the humours, complexions, and
the times of the yeare, of the monethes, and dayes, of the
angles of the worlde and windes, of the signes, planets,
plantes, stoanes, of the Sacramentes and Mysteries of y^e
Churche: all drawe well neare the whole Apocalyps by
force to these fables: and this is that Heroical Philosophy
of the Heroical Herald. I would here haue made an end
of this matter, if I had not remembred that I had passed
ouer the originall of the Herald, and therefore I
thinke good to ioyne it to this discourse: Eneas Syluius
would haue the Herald to be so called of Heroes. Heroes
were olde Souldiers: which alone ought to be Herald, &
so this dutche worde Herald signifieth, that is to saye, an
olde man in armes, or els an olde Souldier. But now we a-
dayes certaine meane men, Embassadors, and messen-
gers

*The Originall
of Herald.*

gers sent to entreate of warre and peace, whiche neuer were Souldiers, haue this office. But the Priuiledges and the offices of Heraldes whiche were manye hundred yeres passe do continue vntill this daye.

Father Bacchus was their first creauncer, who, when he had conquered India, he created them with these words: I do now discharge you from the labours of warre, I will that you be called old Souldiers, and Heroes: your office

The creation of Heraldes by Bacchus.

shalbe to prouide for the comon weale, to chastice offenders: to praise good men, and from other duties ye shalbe free in all places, & to what countrie soeuer ye shal come, Kinges will geue you meate, drinke, & clothe, you shalbe honoured of euery man, Princes will presente you with giftes, and geue you their garmentes, let your wordes and deedes be one, you shall abhorre lies, you shall iudge traitours, and pronounce them infamouse, which ill entreate women: it shalbe lawfull for you to go thorow out al the worlde, and your passage and abidinge shalbe safe. If any shall do iniurie to you, or any one of you in worde or dede, he shalbe stricken with a sworde. Alexander the Great, a longe time after put to the priuiledges of these Heroes, that they might weare Golde, Purple, Skarlet, and coate armour, and also beare armes, & royall badges in what coaste and countrie so euer they were. He willed moreouer that if any had beaten or wronged them in worde, that he should lose his goodes & his heade. In this wise Eneas declareth that Thucidides, Herodotus, Didymus, Megasthones, and Xenophon do write the same.

Thirdly, Octauian Augustus when he had framed y^e Roman Monarchie, he honozed them with this law: What euer thou be, that shalte serue with vs in Warres ten yeres space, so that thou shalt be .xl. yeres old, whether thou haste serued on fote, or on horse backe, hereafter be thou free from warre, be thou Heroes and an olde Souldier: let no man forbidde thee the Citie, the streate, the Temple, lodging, & his house: let no man laie any blame

A lawe made by Octauiane Augustus for Heraldes.

Cornelius Agrippa

*The honour
which Charles
the Greate gaue
to Herauldes.*

to thy charge, put any burdeine vpon thee, and aske thee any monie: if thou shalte offende in any thinge, looke to be chastised by Caesar, and no man els, in all dishonestie that men shall committe, I will that thou be their iudge & discloser, whether they shall be priuate men or officers: that which thou shalt saie and affirme for truthe, no man shall reprove for false, I will that al waies and places be free and open to thee, thou shalte haue authoritie to eate & drinke at the tables of Princes, thou shalte pearely haue wages of the common treasure to finde thee, & thy householde: let her be preferred befoze other women, whiche thou shalte take to thy lawful wife: he whom thou shalte reprove, & cal infamouse, let him be wicked & infamouse, thou being Heroes shalte haue authoritie to beare armes, badges, names and ornaments, which be conuenable for a Kinge: do what thou wilt in euery place and countrie where thou comest. If any shall do thee wronge, let his head be cut of. Lastly Charles the Great, when he had translated the name of the Empire to the Germans, after the Saxons, & Lombardes were vanquished, beinge called Caesar & Augustus, gaue them this honour, sayinge: My Souldiers ye shalbe called Heroes, the companions of Kinges, and iudges of offences, liue ye hereafter boide of labour, counsaile Kinges in the publike authoritie, reprove dishonest things, fauour women, heape orphans, let not Princes misse your counsaile, and aske of them meate, drinke, and monie: if any of them shal denie it, let him be vrenowned and infamouse: if any shall do you iniurie, let him knowe that he hath offended the Emperours Maiestie: but ye shall forsee that ye distaine not so great an honour, and so great a priuiledge, gotten by the great labour of warre with dronkenesse, railing, or with any other vice: to the ende that that which we haue geue you for glozy, redounde not to punishment, whiche we will forouer reserue to be geuen you by vs, and our successours Emperours of Rome as often as ye shall transgresse.

grosse. And this is the magnificence of the Herauldes, wherewith by auncient custome of times they repute themselves great men, because it is lawfull for the, without punishment, to depaue the worthiest.

Of Physicke. Cap. 82.

BUt now let vs passe from warrefare, and nobilitie to Physicke, whiche also is a certaine Arte of manslaughter altogether seruill, although it presume to passe vnder the title of Philosophie, & aboue the knowledge of the lawe, doth seeke to haue the nexte place to diuinitie, wherfore there is a greate contention betwene Physitions and Lawiers. For the Physitions argue in this manner: Seinge that there be three kindes of goddes by order, of the Soule, Bodie, and of Fortune: the diuine hath charge of the firste, the Physition of the seconde, the Lawiers of the thirde, for this cause they will that the Physitions haue the middle place aboue the Lawiers, in so muche as the strength and health of the bodie is better then the riches of Fortune. But there was a certaine Mayor of a Citie, whom I know not, that made an ende of this matter in varsaunce, with a preatie and pleasant demaund. For he asked of them that were in strife, what blage & order was obserued in carpyng men to the Gallies, whether wente before, and behinde the theefe or the Hangeman? And when they answered that the theefe wente before, and the Hangeman nexte, he gaue sentence, sayinge: the Lawiers then go before, and the Physitions come after: repprouinge in this manner their notable robberie, and rashe murders. But returne we to Physicke, which hath many sectes: for there is one, which they call Rationall, or Sophisticall, or Dogmaticall, and this haue Hippocrates, Diocles, Chrysippus, Caristinus, Paraxagoras, and Horosistratus followed, which Galene, a longe time after these, did approue: who following Hippocrates,

The controuersie of Physitions and Lawiers touching their preheminance is ended by the pleasant iudgement of a certaine Mayor.

Cornelius Agrippa

Hippocrates more then others reduced the whole Arte of Physicke to the knowledge of causes, and signes, to the qualitates of thinges, and to diuers plights and likinges of bodies. But because this secte hath to do about words, rather then aboute the thinges themselves, I confesse it is not the meanest parte of naturall Philosophie, yet not very necessarie to cure the diseased, I will not saie hurtfull, as that whiche referreth mens saultie and health to certaine wrested Sophismes, rather then to pure Medicines, with whiche diseases maie be cured: and busied in scholerlike Syllogismes, ignorant of desertes, wooddes, and gardens, dothe not knowe hearbes, and medecine: wherefore Serapion confessed that this Rational Physicke belonged not to the Arte of healinge maladies. There is then an other secte of Physicke altogether gainefull and seruill, whereof Physitions vntill this daie haue theire name. For this cause they call it Operatiue, that is workinge, deuiding the same into Empericall, & Methodicall, hereof in this place we haue to speake. Wherefore they call it Empericall, that is to saie, that consisteth in practise, of experimentes, the heades whereof were Serapion, Heraclides, and both the Apollonij: whom afterwarde of the Latines Marcus, Cato, C. Valgius, Pomponius, Lenus, Cassius Foelix, Aruntius, Cornelius Celsus, Plinie, & many other followed. Of this Hierophilus the Chalcedonian, made afterwarde the Methodicall, that is, compendious to learne by, and by longe experience the mistresse of all thinges, reduced it to certaine rules, whiche afterwarde Asclepiades, Themistion, & Archigenes did approue with mooste stronge argumentes: But Thesillus the Italian was he that brought it to perfection, who (as Varro saithe) disanulled all the opinions of them whiche were befoze him, and as it were with a certaine doggish madnesse enueighed against al the Physitions of the time passe. After these very many barbarouse Philosophers of sozeine nations wzote thereof, emonge whome the
glozie

glozie of the Arabians encreased so muche, that to very many they seemed the first finders out of this Arte, and without doubt it seemeth that they made strue for it, if the wordes which they vse grounded vpon the Greeke & Latine, did not declare an other originall of this Arte. For this cause the volumes of Auicenna, Rasis, and Auerrois haue benne receaued in like authoritie with the booke of Hippocrates, and Galene, and haue gotten so great credite, that if one presume to heale an other without theire opinions, he seemeth manifestly to endamage the common saultie of men. And although these sectes of Physitions be fewe, yet there is no lesse contention, and diuersitie of opinions emonge them, then emonge the Philosophers. For hire with what foolish and vaine reasons they dispute of Sperme, whiche is the naturall humour whereof all liuinge thinges be engendred and soured: Pythagoras saide, that it is a skomme or froth of the profitabest bloudde, or els the profitabest superfluitie of meate. Plato said: that it was a rennyng downe of the marrowe of the backe bone, because theire backes & reynes doe ake, which vnmessurable vse the acte of generation. Alcmeon affirmeth it to be a parte of the braine, because the eyes of them that fulfill the fleshly lusses, doe ake, whiche are partes of the braine. Democritus saith: that it is a thinge that cometh from all partes of the bodie, and Epicurus will that it be taken from the bodie and soule. Aristotle saith, that it is a superfluitie of bloudie nourishment, whiche is laste of all digested in the members. Others thinke that it is bloudde boyled and made white thoroowe the heate of the stones, moued onely by this reason, because they, whiche vse the pleasures of loue more then theire force can endure, doe boide droppes of bloud. Moreouer Aristotle and Democritus saie, that the seede of a woman auaileth nothinge to generation, and that thei boide no seede, but a certaine particular sweate. Galene saith, that they boide sperme, al-

*The opinions of
Philosophers
touchinge the
Sperme.*

best vnperfect for generation, and that the seede of bothe, of the man and the woman doth make a liuing creature. But Aristotle will, that the bodie of liuinge thinges be engendred firste of all of bloudde, and immediatly to be nourished, and that the naturall humoure is engendred of bloude: Hippocrates contrarywise saithe, that the bodie of liuing creatures be first engendred of the foure humours. Many Arabians also haue supposed, that perfecte liuinge creatures maie be engendred without the coniunction of male and female, & be brought forth without seede: and therfore they saide that the matrices were not necessarie but by accidente. But to entreate of the originall causes of diseases, Hippocrates placeth them in the breathe without the spirite. Hierophilus in the humours: Erasistratus in the bloudde of the Arteries, Asclepiades considereth them of the indiuisible partes receaued into the inuisible pores of the bodie. Alcmeon of the abundance or wante of the powers of the bodie. Diocles of the vnequalitie of the bodily elementes, and fetchinge of the breathe. Strato beleued that all diseases came onely of superfluitie, rawnesse of the stomake, and of the corruption thereof. They likewise disagree in the alteration of the meate. For Hippocrates, Galene, and Auicen, doe also firme that the meate is digested in the stomake by heate. Erasistratus will that this be donne in the belly. Plistonius, and Paraxagoras saie, that it doth not onely digesse, but putrifie also: But whiche is more Auicen, and his expositors, Gentiles, and Iames of Forline, not without a notable error doe teache that ordure is engendred in the stomake: Asclepiades and his followers doe suppose that meate is not digested, but is deuised rawe thorow out all the bodie, and furthermore they saie that the learning of all the auncientes is vaine, and superfluous. I speake not of y^e iudgements of waters, not yet perfectly knowe of them, and the pawlsinges of the pulses not to be comprehended. Hippocrates moreouer whom they worship

for

for a God, hath not onely differed in many thinges from other, but also fallen into a soule erreure. For in his booke of the nature of a childe, he saith: A birde is engendred of the yolke of an egge, but he hath nourishmente and encreasinge of the white, that is in the egge: whiche Aristotle proueth to be false in his booke of liuinge creatures, and in his booke of the generation of liuinge creatures disputinge against Alcmeon, who was of Hippocrates opinion, he concludeth thus: The originall of the birde is in the white: the meate commeth from the yolke thoroowe the nauell, to whiche opinion Plinie dothe also agree, sayinge: the birde taketh his bodie of the white licour of the egge, whose meate is in the yolke. Is not that Aphorisme of Hippocrates false? A woman hath not the Goute, except her flowers faile: where as many women haue the Goute, which haue their flowers.

Of Phisicke, that consisteth in practise. Cap. 83.

The whole Arte of Phisicke mozeouer is builden vpon no other fundation, then vpon false experimentes, and fortified with the light beleefe of the Sicke, no lesse venemous then beneficiall, so that oftentimes, and well neare alwaies, there is moze daunger in the Phisition, and the medicine, then in the sicknesse it selfe, which thing the very chiefeest in this Arte doe freely confesse, that is to witte, Hippocrates, sayinge: that this Arte is harde, and deceaueth the Phisition in prouise. And Auicen saith: that oftentimes the faith and hope of the patient towarde the Phisition, and the medicine, is of moze force then Phisicke togeather with the Phisition: and Galene affirmeth that a Medecine can hardly be founde, which maie healepe muche, and that at one very instant dothe not hurte in some thinge: and an other of them I wotte not who, saith, the knowledge of Phisicke is pleasaunt, and of al other thinges, which consiste

Cornelius Agrippa

Of Arte and rules, but the practise accordinge to Physicke
 is a chaunce. Lette aduenturous sicke men nowe go, and
 geue credits to perillous experimentes and to chaunce,
 but so pleasaunt (as Plinie saith) is euery mans sweetnes
 of hope alone, that euery one is beleued y^e professeth him
 self a Physitian, whereas there is no greater danger in
 any lasing. Heresof it commeth to passe that diuers times
 health is there soughte, where death is, for he is thought
 the beste Physitian, whom the Apothecarie, which is par-
 taker of his gaine, dothe commend, who practiseth de-
 ceipte with him to beguile others, whose seruautes the
 Physitian doth also binde vnto him by giuinge them mo-
 nie, whiche exercisinge the office of barodes, & praysinge
 him doo preferre him to the pituous sicke men very excel-
 lent also is that Physitian, whiche is clad in braue appa-
 ralle, hauing rings on his fingers glimmeringe with pre-
 tious stoanes, and whiche hath gotten authoritee, fame,
 and credence for hauinge bene in farre countreies, for ha-
 uinge made longe pilgrimages, or for beinge of a diuers
 Religion (as a Jewe or a Marane,) for hauinge a very ef-
 fectuall vnshamefastnes of face to deceaue, and an obsti-
 nate manner of auanting with stiffe lies, that they haue
 great remedies. Which hath also won him y^e credite of a
 learned man for standing alwaies in cōtention, & for ha-
 uing continually in his mouth many wordes halfe Craike
 & barbarous: & for reckening vp many names of their au-
 thours, & being in this manner instructed moze the with a
 leaden grauitie, & as it were with a Souldiers boldnesse,
 in this Hypocrisie, he then taketh in hand to practise Phi-
 sicke. First he visiteth the sicke, he beholdeth y^e water, he
 feeleth y^e pulse, he looketh on the tonge, he gropeth y^e sides,
 he looketh on the ordure, he wil knowe his maner of diet,
 and searcheth also if there be any things moze secrete, as
 if by these he weigheth the Clementes, and as it were
 trieth in a balance the humours of the patiente, & lyeth a
 pace: afterwarde with a greate auanting he prescribeth
 him

*The manner of
 Physitions when
 they visite the
 sicke.*

him medicines, take pilles, be letten bloud, let clifters be made, let pitche clothes be made, let ointments be made, let plaisters be made, let brothes be geuen him, let things be geue him to chaue, let gargarismes be made, let little bagges be made, let perfumes be made, let pleasant meat be geuen him, let sirupes be geuen him, let water be geuen him, let triacle be geue him: and if the disease be not vehement, and the patient somewhat delicate he wil provide for pleasaunte thinges, and with greate authoritie doth commaunde that all suche thinges shoulde be donne whiche he thinketh acceptable and pleasaunt to women & effeminate men, and when he hath laide him vpon a softe bedde, he endeuoureth to bring him a sleepe with droppes of well water fallinge into a basen, sometime he minisheth the sicknesse with rubbinge, sweatinge, and cuppinge: sometime he restoreth the enfeobled sicke man with bathes, delicate meate, and with the chaunge of the aire: and that he maie be accounted of greate authoritie, and also be wondred at, obseruing howers he causeth natural alligations & bindinges to be tied about his necke, and dothe not minister medicines and drinkes but by the Mathematicall Ephemerides. They presume also to beare rule ouer the Apothecarie, & biddeth him to compownde al things in his presence, and maketh as though he chose the best drogues, although oftentimes he cannot discerne y counterfait from the true, and knoweth not the things by their names. If the sicke parson be riche, or of greate authoritie, than to the ende that he may haue more gayne and reputation, he prolongeth the disease asmuche as he maye, and doth not restore him to healt he but by little & little, albeit he can at ones drue awaye the disease with one medicine, and otherwhile he bringeth the man to extreame daunger of his life, encreasinge the disease with his medicines, to the ende that than he maye be sayde to haue deliuerd him from a most greauous and dangerous sicknesse. And if at any time a sicke man happen into his

handes, that is greuously sicke, and shall knowe that the disease is perillous, and the ende therof vncertaine, then he creeperh in with these subtilties: with a rough countenance he prescribeth rules of diet, he commaundeth vnaccustomed thinges, and forbiddeth him his ordinarie meats, he blameth that which is geue him, he threatneth him death, he promiseth him life, and demaundeth greater rewardes. If he doubteth of the ende, he counsaileth him to cal to together his companie and demaundeth a mate, that he maye cure the diseased with more suertie, or els, as oftentimes it commeth to passe, that he maye kill him more iwarely leaste that an other comming in place, who alone restoreth the sicke man to healtie, maye take from him his reputation, prayse, & gaine also. If any mishap shall befall to the patient, or els if contrary to his expectation thow we manifest ignorance he shall depriue him of his life, than he doth colourably excuse himselfe in saying that it proceeded either of the strangling renning of the reume, or of some other like sodaine accidente, and remedies chaunce, and he sharply rebuketh the disobedience of the patient, or the negligēce of the keepers, he blameth them of his companie, or putteth the fault in the Apothecarie; and in this manner he maketh men beleue, that no sicke man dieth but thow his owne faulte, and that no man can be restored to healtie, but by the meanes of the Physition. But wil also proue this to be true, that Physitions moste commonly be naught, and that with their

The woordes of owne testimonies. For Peter of Appona, their attorne
Peter of Appona maker saith that the Arte of Physicke is ascribed to Mars, which is the hatefulest of all the Planetes and which is the authour of ingratitude, brawlinge, and of all iniquitie and naughtinesse. And therefore Physitions for the moste parte be ill conditioned, as well for the influence of Mars and Scorpio, as especially because, as he saith, they toke beginning of a vile and a barraine blocke, waxinge afterwarde proude and spitefull, when they were well
stuffed,

stuffed, these be his wordes. He was taught perhaps by the example of Esculapius, whome the auncient fables doe recozde to haue bene the firste finder out of Physicke, begoten of the minde of Iupiter, and by the life of Sol sente downe on earthe. But Celsus confesseth, that he was a man, but receiued into the number of the Gods. Many other affirme that he was begot in fornicatio of a comely queane called Coronides, of whom oftentimes the Priestes in the Temple of Apollo tooke armozous delites, whiche fained him to be sonne of theire God. All doubtles doe herein agrée, that this God Esculapius was so wicked, & he needed the lightning of Iupiter to chastice him, of who Lactantius writeth in this wise to Constantine the Emperour: Esculapius also bozne not without the wickednes of Apollo, what did he at any time worthe of diuine honours, but that he healed Hippolitus: Surely he died honourably, because he deserued to be slaine with lightning by God: these be his wordes. But to tel the truth, Physitions be the wickedest, the contentiouse, the enuiouse, & the falsest men of al other. For al doe in such wise disagree emonge themselues, that there is founde no Physitiane, who, without exception, addition, or chaunginge, dothe approue the medicine appointed by an other: but rather doth not speake il of them, and sclaunder them, to the end that he may not seeme to be the better Physition, if he shal not speake amisse of the good counsaile of an other, or els not adde any thinge to them, whiche oftentimes also be too many, wherfore finally the enue and disorde of Physitions is growen to a Proverbe. For whatsoever one alloweth, the other skorneth, neither is there certaintee emonge them, but all their promises be vaine trifles, and mere lyes: for this cause when the common people will shewe any that lyeth shamefully, they saie to him: thou liest like a Physition. And the greatest laboure of theire wittes is occupied in this, that in diuising new matters, the good workes of the auncientes may be neglected and dispised:

A proverbe.

Cornelius Agrippa

A pſouerbe.

A deare Phiſician.

diſpiſed: thei hide alſo the ſmal knowledge that thei haue, or they wil not vtter it, as though the reputation of the ſcience were to teach noman, and ſo enuyinge others do alſo diſapointe our life of other mens goodnes. They are mozeouer very ſuperſtitious, arrogaunte, of a naughty conſcience, proud, and couetouſe, hauinge alwayes this pſouerbe in theire mouthe, take, whileſt he feeleth greife, makinge alſo that to ake, whiche is whole, if they thinke it wil tourne them to profit, as we reade of Peter of Ap- pona (whom they call theire attonemaker) who readinge Phiſicke in Bononia was ſo couetous, and arrogaunte, that goinge to anye place oute of the Citie to viſite ſicke paſſions, woulde not be hired vnder fittie ducates a daye: and bringe on a time ſent for to Honorius then Pope, he couenaunted to haue foure hundzeth ducates a day. Pin- darus ſaith alſo that Eſculapius father of Phiſicke was by Iupiter ſtricken with lightninge for a due deſerte of coue- touſnes, bicauſe wickedly and to the damage of the com- mon wealthe he had practiſed Phiſicke. And if by anye chaunce the diſeaſed ſhal happely recouer in their hands, they reioyce without measure, noman will be able to ſet fourth the glozy of ſo great a miracle. They will ſay that he hath raiſed Lazarus from death, & he gaue him his life, that he is bound to thanke them that he is a line: & by and by, (attributing that to themſelues, which belogeth onely vnto God) they anaunt that they haue drawen him out of hel, & ſay, that no rewarde can conſerualle their deſerte. Some of the haue ben in ſuch wiſe puffed vp with pride, that thei ſuffered themſelues to be worſhipped for Gods, & cauſed themſelues to be called Ioues, as Menecrates the Syracuſane Phiſition, who is reade to haue wriſten on a ſtone to Ageſilaus King of Sparta in theſe wordes: Menecrates Iupiter ſendeth greeting to King Ageſilaus, but Ageſilaus, laughing priuely at his folly, answered in this wiſe: Ageſilaus deſireth health to Menecrates: But if any vnhappy diſeaſed perſon die in y hands of the Phiſicians, whiche

whiche oftentimes chaunceth, than they put the faulte to the weakenes of nature, to the extremitie of the sicknes, or to the unrulinesse of the patiente, and that the remedies of their Arte doth not extende to this secreete of cruel nature, and that they be Physicians, not Gods, that they can heale the curable, but not to restore the deade to life, and that they cannot minister nothing to the sicke, but what experience hath taught them, and with these wordes also they be high minded in vnprosperous chaunces, & moreouer they accused them that died, of disorder, and there with al they wilbe payde, when with their receipts they haue killed them, which without them might haue liued, spoylinge the sicke at one instante of their fame, monie, healthe and life, hauing in the meane while a false conscience: aswell because their erroure, (as Socrates saith) is couered in the earth, as especially because the countrie of the dead is irremeable, that they cannot retourne, which they deceiuing with vaine wordes, and infecting with noysome medicines, do depriue of life before their time, leasse that they accuse them of extortion, and murder. Furthermore Physicians oftentimes be contagious, and stinking by reason of vrine, and ordure, bepissed, and belsheten, and filthier then midwives, hauing all their senses infected, whilst that with their eyes they behold most filthy and stinking thinges, with their eyes and nose they receiue the belking of sicke men, their fartinge, their bzeathing, blowing, and stinckinge of their bzeathe, they taste firste with their lippes and tounge, blacke and deadly drinckes, with their handes they stirre ordure and excrementes, and daye and night they haue in their fantasie, the ougltie images and ghostes of the sicke, and innumerable murders do trouble their conscience: and finally all their studie, talke, reason, communication, minde, and wit, is conuersaunte aboute nothings but naughtie, filthy, and lothsome thinges, and horrible kindes of deathe and diseases: and all their

excreſſe is in ſtincking and filthie places, occupied in vile
 cares, and vncleane ſkill, for infamous gayne ſake they
 alwayes ſtande about ſicke mennes ſakeſes and piſpots,
 and like the lapwinge a filthy birde, doe builde their neſte
 of mennes ordure. Doe you not daylie ſee howe they go
 about the Citie with ringed fingers, and dirtie gownes,
 with a ſadde countenaunce, and alwayes pale, and with
 a quicke pace, for hope of veray vile gayne, renne from
 one Apothecaries ſhoppe to an other, ſeeke and beg-
 ging, if in any place a man wil offer them vrine, or a boll
 of ordure to looke vpon, & as the hooded vultures are beſte
 noſed about drade bodies, ſo theſe men, are beſt noſed of al
 about excrements: which they ſay: Hippocrates was wont
 alſo to taſte, that thereby he might the better perceiue
 the nature of the ſickneſſe: which thinge alſo many doe
 attribute to Eſculapius: who for this cauſe was of Ariſto-
 phanes called Scatophagos, in which worde they be ſi-
 gnified, which ſeede vpon the ſuperfluities of meates,
 which name afterwards was deriued to all Phiſitions,
 in ſuche wiſe, that wee call them Scatophagians and Sca-
 tomanter, that is, ordure eaters, and lookers on ordure.
 For this cauſe Scatomacie, Oromancie, Drymumancie, be
 called the diuinations or Prognostications of Phiſitiſas,
 gathered by ordures and vrines. Wherefore emonge
 many nations, theſe ſeruil Phiſitions were in time paſte
 reputed infamous, and moze then that, (as Seneca teſti-
 fieth) it was accompted a very greate infamie to ſeeke the
 ſeruiſe of a Phiſition, and at this day alſo, many people
 doe exclude Phiſitions, Widowes, and executioners from
 their tables and bankets, or els they geue them meate
 and drinke in diſhes, and cuppes aparte from the other:
 wherefore a man maye here haue indignation againſte
 that deteſtable cuſtome of many Princes, which allowe,
 theſe peſtilente menne not onely to come to their bedde
 ſide in the morninge, but to their tables alſo, beinge
 infected with the dayly viſiting of the ſicke, and with the
 freſhe

fresh vapours of pestilence, and that more is, if one bidde a Physitian to a feast, whilst he is at dinner, he wil talke of nothings but of ordures, bzines, sweatinges, corrupted bloude, vomitinge, and of the flowers, and will entreate of the fallinge sicknesse, of leprosie, of botches, of scabbes, and of the plague, and with the filthines of his communication, he will cause al menne to lothe the banquet, well furnished with veray daintie dishes. Use also a Physitian, in ciuill consultations, and ye shall finde no man more sonde and foolish then he, and that perhappes as well because the doctrine of Physitions (as their reconciler saith) consisteth not on vertues, nor good conditions, as especially because (as the same saith) enery Physitian, which is honeste by nature, oughte to be ill conditioned, and I knowe, that in many cities, it is prouided by publike decrees and ordinaunces, that Physitions maye not be receiued into counsaile, nor beare office, peraduenture not so much because they be foolish, wayne, and stubborne, as because they be alwayes vncleane, and so contagious by reason of the continuall handlinge of sickemen, and ordure, that they doe not onely infecte them whiche approach neare to them, but the seates also, and likewise the marble stoanes as Lucilius preatelle hath writen of a certayne Physitian in a grecke Epigramme, translated into latine by Ausonius, and may thus be inglisshed.

Alcon, in Phisicke skilde, laste day did touche
The signe of *four*, and though he marble were,
By him he wronge enduerde. Beholde to daye
From auncient temple out he borne is

Although a stoane and eke a God he be,
But when they assemble their colledge togeather to trie
out that, whiche the diseased hath pished or shiten the
nighte befoze, and as it were the iudges of the Lacedaemonians called Ephori to giue sentence of life and death, it is a marueilous thinge, but muche more to be lamented with how many miserable altercations without any

Iudge they than doe stande at contention aboute the sicke
 mannes bedde, as thoughe they haue benne hired not to
 cure, but to dispute, and that the diseased, to whome (ac-
 cordinge to the Graeke verse of Menander, whiche in
 Englishe is: The bablinge Phisition is as it were a sicknes
 to the diseased) well neare al communication is greuous,
 hathe moze neede of their reasoninge, then of their Phi-
 sicke, and when they haue like schollers cited certayne
 Aphorismes, for an ostentation, whiche onely they haue
 readye at all times for euerye pourpose, and called vpon
 Hyppocrates, Galene, Auicen, Rasis, Auerrois, their Re-
 conciler, and other of their Goddes, whose names and
 titles serue them in steede of learning to purchase credit,
 and reputation of knowledge emonge the ignoraunte
 people, they haue for a space benne at daggers drawinge
 touchinge the causes, signes, dispositions, humours, and
 critical dayes, but without discussinge their controuer-
 sie, at the length, they conclude with a very slender ordi-
 nance, concerninge the applyinge of the remedie, which
 ought to be the heade and tayle of all the matter: and as
 there is a mutuall enmitie emongest them, none of them
 beinge willinge to make their secretes common (as thei
 terme it) to their enuiers, as if they shoulde lose that
 whiche they haue taught vnto others, they haue recourse
 to the common methode, whiche if it disapointe them,
 they repayre to practise, as to the holy anker, to the ende,
 that whom reason restoreth not, rashnesse maye further,
 sayeing: that it is better to proue a doubtfull helpe, then
 none at all: or els leaue the diseased when they cannot
 helpe him, and that continuall feblenesse (as Ecclesia-
 sticus saith) dothe greene them: sayeing that Hyppocrates
 forbade medicines to be giuen to desperat parsons: or if
 they be somewhat religiouse, they referre the disease to
 some sainte, they appoint y last receit of al which is this.
 Take a notarie, and seuen witneses, put thereto a Priest
 with holy water and oile, as much as is needefull, & leaue
 thy

thy house in order, for thou must die. For this cause Rasis, who doubtlesse not onely knewe the folishe beliest of the sicke, but also the contentious ignorance of the Physicians, providing not unwisely for bothe, that is to saie, for the patiente and the Physician, counsaileth in his Aphorismes, that one Physician alone ought to be chosen: because, saith he, one mans errour causeth no great infamie: and the profite whiche one man doth to the diseased, is commended: but he that shall vse very many Physicians, incurreth into an exceedinge greate errour: these be the wordes of Rasis. That auncient inscription of a tombe doth witnesse this: Many Physicians slewe him: and that Greeke Proverbe: The accesse of many Physicians killed the diseased: That sayinge also of Adriane the Emperoure lyinge at the pointe of death: The rable of Physicians hath destroyed the Prince. Wherfore there is no counsaile more profitable for the preservinge of life & health, then to abstaine from Physicians. For thanke God for the health of bodie, and not the Physicians, and for this cause, Ase Kinge of Iuda was rebuked by the Prophete of the Lorde, because in his sickenes he sought not y^e Lorde, but trusted in the Physicians Arte: to whose counsailes they whiche geue credence, will neuer be whole: for there is no life more miserable then that, whiche is guided vnder the hope of their healpe. I put the case that the Physicians knowe, and I would to God they knewe al the vertues and operations of the Clementes, rotes, hearbes, flowers, frutes, seedes, of liuinge creatures also and minerals, and of all thinges, whiche nature the mother of them hath brought forth, yet they cannot with all these vertues not onely make man immortall, but whiche is lesse, not alwaies cure him that is sicke of every lighte disease. How often hath not y^e medecine preuailed, which should haue preuailed, and whiche should purge, hath not purged: how often hath the diseased fallen sicke, & gonne to Physicke estones, & at the length after many troubles,

and greates expences, either than, or shortly after, even in the presence of Physicians, he must die. What confidence shoulde we than haue in Physicians, if (as Hippocrates him selfe saithe) theire experience be vncertaine? What certaine thinge can Physicians promise, if that be true which Plinie writeth, that no Arte is moze vncostante then Physicke, nor whiche oftener is chaunged? There were many nations in time passe and at this date are, which liue without Physicians, which notwithstandinge we see lustie, when they are at the pittes brincke, and to liue aboue a hundreth yeares: contrarywise that these nice people, whiche liue with the labour & promises of Physicians, for the most parte, doe ware olde, and die in the flower of their yeares: & which is moze, that the Physicians themselves are sicke, moze than other men, and almost continually, and die before their naturall time. For this cause that Lacedemonian made aunswere to one that saide vnto him, hast thou no sicknesse: no, because I doe not vse the Physician, and he replyinge againe, thou arte an old man, answered he, because I neuer vled the Physician, shewing that there is no other waie moze certaine for health and olde age, then to be without Physicians: But if a man saie, that many haue benne recovered by the meanes of Physicians, we will answere him contrarywise that many haue died, whom Physicke hath nothing profited, and we will laie to his reproche that verset of Ausonius sayinge:

By fatall chaunce he did escape,
and not by Phisickes healpe.

For in time passe the Arcadians did not vse Medecines, but (as Plinie saithe) they vled milke of the springe time, because than, moze then at any other season, hearbes are full of iuyce, & the fruitefullest fieldes serued for Medecines: but before the rest they chouse colwes milke, because they eate all kinde of hearbes. The Lacedemonians also, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, & the Portingals (as Herodotus

dotus and Strabo testifie) refused all Physitions: and they brought them that were sicke into the market place, and into the streates, to the ende that they, whiche were attached with the like sicknesse, and had escaped, or knewe an other to haue escaped, might counsaile them with the remedies which they haue proued vpon themselves: supposinge, (whiche Cornelius Celsus doth also affirme) that there is nothing more auailable to the trade of Physicke then experience, wherein it is manifestly scene, that the beste learned men haue benne oftentimes ouercome by an olde wise of the Countrie, and the with one roote or hearbe alone, hath atchieued suche thinges, as the beste Physitions of all, coulde not do with all their prettious Medecines, done exactly with studie and diligence. For whilest they go about to cure diseases with intricate and monstrous mixtures (whereas nature hath brought forth so many plaine remedies, which should suffice) confounding them by a cōpounde collinge of diuers thinges, they be leade rather by coniecture, then by cause, or reason, & make the whole Arte of Physicke nothinge els but chaunce and coniecture. But this knowinge the force and qualitee of one plaine medecine, doth cure harde diseases with sounde and approued vertues of nature. They on the other side, thoro pretious thinges brought from the farthest partes of India, or from the Gades, do promise & sell health to others: perswadinge them that nothinge els but thinges of great price can helpe. Nature doth not onely promise, but also restore health with our owne countrie hearbes very easie to finde, and little esteemed, which euery man maie lightly haue growyng in his garden. Furthermoze these with a presumptuous rashnesse, and bablinge gaily set forth, hauinge learned it out of deceitfull bookes, & painted Codicils, vse the hardest trade of Physicke to gaine by. This hauinge behelde and learned all the plantes growinge in the earthe, and fieldes, their colours, formes, saours, smellinges, and diuersities,

diuersities, & proued also of what vertue they be in sick-
 nesses, and other chaunces, dothe without rewarde geue
 to euery man vndoubted remedies. The chiefest Phisiti-
 ons also confesse, that they haue learned many moſte ex-
 cellent remedies of women, & worthis to be put in their
 booke, and as it were, singular thinges leſte to the poſte-
 ritee, as that Medecine whiche Auicenn comendeth taught
 him by a woman againſt the head ache. But if it be true
 that the medecine, which ought to bringe a temperature
 of health, doth conſiſt in the proportion and temperature
 of thinges togeather, aſwel amonge themſelues, as eſpe-
 cially alſo with the quantities of the bodie, wherunto
 they be attributed, & this hath bene a moſte diligent care
 in proportioninge, and temperinge Medecines, by juſte
 and harmonickall weightes, leauinge theſe to the poſteri-
 tie, to be proportioned to diſeaſed mens bodie, what pre-
 ſumption, and ſaluineſſe is this not onely to alter theſe
 thinges, but to put to them alſo, or utterly to deſpiſe or
 not to know them? Whereof it cometh to paſſe, that like
 as the juſte temperature of Medecine oughte to bringe
 health, ſo the diſagreement thereof bringeth grieſe, ſeate,
 ſharpeſſe of ſickneſſe, and other while death, & therefore
 an olde wiſe of the country, dothe moze ſaulſly cure with
 a Medecine made with one, or two hearbes of the gar-
 deine, with y^e worke of nature, then that Phisition with
 his monſtrous, and ſumptuous receiptes made with a
 doubtfull coniecture. There haue bene in time paſte ma-
 ny and moſte excellent Philoſophers and Phisitions of
 that opinion, that is to ſaie, that we ſhoulde not pra-
 ctiſe Phisicke but with very ſimple thinges. For this cauſe
 ſearchinge out and prouinge the forces of ſimples, they
 haue leſte to vs, which come after, notable booke, as that
 whiche Chryſippus wrote of the Colewortes, Pythago-
 ras of the hearbe Squilla, Marchion of the Radiffe, Dio-
 cles of the Rape, Phaniaſ of the Pettie, Apuleius of
 Betaine, and many other auncientes of other thinges.

But...

But these Phisitions of Shoppes doe not onely passe vpon them, but also laugh them to skorne, callinge them simple men whiche studie to knowe simples. I therefore disswade no man not onely to aske counsaile of these Phisitions, but also to follow their steppes, them I meane, which cure by simples. But I aduise them to flee and banish the auaile these keepers of Shoppes no other wise then Inchaunters, & Witches, whiche with their monstrous confections make marchandise of our infirmities, & castelottes for our life. For sithens it is necessarie that compounde Medecines be made of many sundrie and contrary kindes, it is impossible or at least wise very difficulte for the Phisition to appointe any certaintie in them, but by opinion alone, supposall, & coniecture: & sithens there be oftentimes innumerable things, euery of which by himself semeth to be of sufficient strength & vertue, against any grieffe: The Phisition maketh a hochpot of such things, as happe, & chaunce, shall then presente to his memorie, or els whereunto he shalbe inclined by any other inward or hidden instinct. Whereof it cometh to passe, that that compounde Medecine taketh vertue, & effect, not so much from the power of the simples whiche go into it, as from the happie or unhappie intent of the Phisition, as farre as he is induced with a certaine hidden influence, either naturall, or celestiall, or Demonicke, or aduenturous rather to chouse these then other. And this is that, whiche is commonly saide, and they themselues doe confesse that one Phisition hath better lucke then an other, and very oftentimes the ignorant is happier then the learned. But whiche is more, I haue scene, & knowe a Phisition a man singularly learned so unhappie, that of many sicke parsons very few or none escaped aliae out of his handes. I knewe also an other scarcely a smatterer in learninge, whiche happely healed well nere all his patientes, and many also which were leste by others as passe hope of reuouerie. I remembre also that I haue reade of a Phisition,

into whose handes, what noble men & potentates soeuer
had chaunced, escaped, & all the commons, and rude sorte
perished, or were in great daunger. Wherefore it is now
an easie thinge to perceaue that this shoppe Phisicke,
wherein the fortune of the Phisition can do moze then
learninge, is altogether or for the moste parte deuina-
tozie, and therefore worthe to be banished farre of, and
condemned as venemous, and murderous. Wherefore
the Romans, in time paste vnder Cato the Cēsoure, bani-
shed all Phisitions out of Rome and al Italie, hating their
mortal lies, & crueltie, that is to witte, because thei slewe
many moze, then they healed: also because thei, being ve-
ry well skilled in makinge poisons, mighte easely be mo-
ued with hatred, ambition, or gaine, to minister poyson
in steede of Medecine, and when they haue agreed for a
summe of monie they sell mens liues: as the Phisition of
Pyrrhus did, whether he were Timocaris, (as Gellius writ-
teth) or Niceas, as some other recompte, who promised Fa-
britius, that he would kill his Master with a Medecine:
whiche mischieuous acte Fabritius detestinge, aduertised
Pyrrhus by a letter, albeit he was his enemye, that he
should beware of the Phisition, of whome Claudian spea-
keth in this manner:

The Romans euer hated haue
the workers of all ill:
Fabricius him to Pyrrhus sente,
that promisse made to kill
VVith poyson rancke his master, in
detestinge his entent,
VVhom with fierce fight he did assaile
and not about he wente
To ende the warre through cursed deepe
of seruant

After the same facion Cato in Plinie writteth to his sonne
of the Greeke Phisitions, sayinge: they haue sworne e-
monge themselves to kill all the Barbarians with Phis-
icke,

sicke, but they will do this for recompence to the ende that they maie be in credite, & safely atchieue their wicked purpose. And shortly after he addeth, whereof arise many deceiptes in Testamentes, and aduoutries also in the houses of Princes, as that of Eudemus was euident in Liuia the wife of Drusus the Emperoure: these be the wordes of Plinie. Socrates also in Plato would not that there should be many Physitions in a Citie. And nowe a daies also it should be profitable for the common wealth, to haue very fewe Physitions or none at all, & that there were a lawe to punish the mortall mischiefe, as well of their ignorance, as negligence. For it a deadly offence, & it maketh no matter, whether thoro wante of knowledge, or negligence, folly, or malice, vncarefully, or diligently, the Physitiō in steede of medecine, hath ministred popson, and brought man in daunger of his life, and that the Physition shoulde not (as Plinie saith) escape cleare without punishment, for killinge of a man. Which truly to them, is one selfe and common honour with the hangman, that is to saie, to kill menne and to be recompenced therefoze: and these men and none els be rewarded for murder, for which the law hath appointed a punishment to all other men, and hath pardoned and forgiven none. Yet this difference there is, that the Hangeman or Executioner, killeth not the malefactours but accordinge to the sentence of the Judge, but the Physition againste all iudgement slayeth also the guiltlesse. Wherefoze not vnauaileably the ordinaunces of the Popes, do forbidde the Clergie to practise Physicke, for somuche as the Arte of Physicke is so blouddie a thinge, that if it be lawfull for Priestes and the Clergie to plaie the Physitions, they maie also plaie the Hangemen. And that is to be thought wisely donne of Portius in time passe when he forbadde the Physitions, as well because they alwaies gaine the fame of this Science with some straungnes, as especially because whilest that they bringing no newe thing, are

D q g

ashamed

Difference betweene a Hangman, and a Physition.

Cornelius Agrippa

athamed to treade in other mens steppes, proue experimentes by killing this man & that man, and learne their Arte with our daungers, wherewith they gaine by our life, & prolonge mens diseases, which might be cured in a very short space, & oftentimes thei encrease it for greater gaine: Wherefore the Egyptians prouidinge for this deceipt, appointed that the Physicians should cure the bodies of the diseased within thre daies to the daunger of the sicke, and after thre daies to their owne perill.

Of the Pothecaries Arte. Cap. 84.

They call also Potecaries & Medecine makers their Cookes, whose titles (as y^e Prouerbe is) haue remedies, & their bores, poyson, or (as Homer singeth) Of mingled Medecines many are holosome, and many noysome, with the which when they wil not do vs any hurte they enforce vs to buye our death with a great summe of monie: whilest they ministringe to him one thing for another, or els makinge a Medecine of rotten, stale, and mouldie drogues do oftentimes geue a deadly drinke, in steede of a holosome Medecine, whilest that they buye plasters made longe before, collyries, oyntments, lectuaries, and other Medecines, made of the refuse & filth of spices, and to no other ende but for the gaine of their shoppes, and not knowinge to make a difference betwene al these thinges, they beleue the rude marchauntes corruptinge all thinges with deceiptes, & sophistications. I could here declare theire damnable discordes of the knowledge of simple Medecines which they vse, & their errors aboute the names of things that appertaine to Physicke misundirstode by them, and most wickedly vled, the which beinge very many, Nicholas Leonicens hath declared in a large volume. I let to speake of the monstrous confecti-
ons, and mixtures of many and straunge thinges, with the which whilest they confounding all thinges wil per-
swade

swade vs that they will make a Medecine which agreeth
with euery nature: as they haue determined of y^e making
of triakle, of the fable of Tyrus, and of that lectuarie of
Mithridates, nothing els is made but that poetical Chaos:

A rude and vndisposed heape,
and nothing els but euen:

A heauy lumpe and clotted clod,
of seedes togeather driuen.

Of thinges at strife emonge themselues,
for wante of order due:

V Wherein one body hote and colde,
and moyst and drie renewe

A combrous fight, ———

But be it, that there haue bene certaine profitable medi-
cines made and diuised by the ancient Physicians, which
we maye receiue as thinges proued, yet they differ farre
from that true methode, and condemned by the Physicians
themselues enforced through their owne conscience so
to do, and altogeather relected of Plinie, of Theophraste,
of Plutarch, and Hippocrates, Galene, Dioscorides, Eristra-
tus, Celsus, Scribonius, Auicenna whose wordes it were
too tedious to write in this place: and not onely by these
ancients, but also of many Physicians of fresher memorie,
emonge which Arnolde at Villa noua saith in his Apho-
rismes: where simples maye easily be had it is deceipte to
vse compowdes. But now a daies thei dispising altoge-
ther and not knowing simples, no receiptes be made but
by these two famous Pillers of Potecaries, and treasure
of spicers, painted Antidotaries, and golden titles of Me-
sue and Nicholas, and herof it cometh to passe, that whi-
lest these Physicians attendinge their owne leisure do
put the liues of men in the Potecaries handes: and they
without learninge, and without knowledge geuing cre-
dit to ignoraunt marchauntes for the auaille of their shop
do mingle thinges togeather, and muche more danger
commeth of the medicine then of the disease. But let vs

discourse a little of the falsification of pretious thinges that serue for medicine which oftentimes be counterfacted with so much deceipt, that they deceiue also experte and wise men: and it shoulde be muche auailable to the good state of men and the common wealth vtterly to forbidde all straunge and fozeine medicines, whiche mozeouer with so greate a price haue benne broughte into the realme by the euill marchauntes to the damage of the common wealth, and to abate the Physicians pride, and to hold the Apotecaries noses at the grindstone, & to prescribe them a lawe, such a one, as Nero (at that time when he gouerned well) is reade in time past to haue made in Rome, where with they were compelled to vse onely such medicinable thinges, as our climate broughte forth, for as muche as these do better agree to the nature of euerye of vs, they be also muche moze fresher, better chosen, and maye be had with lesse difficultie and expence, and with lesse daunger then the fozeine, whiche for the most parte be suspected bicause they be very oftentimes falsified, counterfeited, or refused, or kept too close in the ship, or weate in y^e pumpe, or rotten thow so age, or not gathered in due season and place, whereof oftentimes greate daunger is like to ensue, for colouintida not ripe, draweth out bloud and killeth: and that which groweth alone, and by it self, is poyson. Semblably Agaricke masculine is deadly, and that whiche is olde is perillous, Scamonie is altogether falsified, and likewise the earthe called Lemnie, and the faithfulness of scales is worne awaye. Nowe I beseeche you what neede we vse these fozeine thinges, if our countrie bringe forth the same thinges, or of like vertue? Is it not a great folly to go rather to India, for that which we haue at home? supposinge that our countrie and sea is not sufficient: & preferring fozeine thinges before them of our countrie, sumptuous before thursty, and difficult & brought euen from the fardest partes of the worlde, before them y^e maye easily be had. Cannot the Splene be cured without

Armoniake

Armoniacke, noꝛ the liuer without saunders: What if we wante Bdellium, cannot the græfes of the entrayles be healed: maye not the heade be cured without muske and amber: noꝛ the stomake without masticke and cozall: If these straunge medicines were cōuenable to our bodie, without doubte nature whiche pꝛouideth foꝛ all thinges shoulde haue bzought to passe, that they shoulde also grow abundantly with vs. Did not our soꝛefathers liue without them and moze healthfully: These then be the trifles of sluggish Phisitions, whiche seeke not to know our medicinable things, & the inuentions of y^e Apotecaries which seeke not foꝛ the common saffie, but foꝛ the pꝛofit of their trade, makinge vs beleue that all thinges of greate pꝛice can helpe vs and none els, whom Ieremie doth therfoꝛe reꝑꝛoue: Is there no rosen in Galaad, oꝛ is theire founde no Phisition: Nature bringeth foꝛthe and tempꝛeth her hearbes in euery Countrie, Region, Pation, Climate, Aire, and Age: we graunte that is true, and that some thinges haue moze vertue in one place and time the in another, notwithstanding they woꝛke the same effectes in euery time and climate, accoꝛdinge to the proper temperature of men, admit that those rare and pꝛetious things be of greater foꝛce then our hearbes: but we ought to beleue that thei are not holsome, but foꝛ the men of that climate, foꝛ whom they are created and bzought foꝛth. But there are moꝛeouer the rauiantes of the Phisitions which perswade vs that certaine monstrous medicines, & differinge from the vse of Phisicke be muche auailable, and that without them we cannot be in health pꝛouinge their saygned diuises with the destructiō of miserable menne. Foꝛ this cause thei put in medicines, Vipers, Serpents, and al venemous Moꝛmes, and if they wante remedies, thei put mans greace in oyntementes, & with a græuous offence of nature they geue men mans flesh to eate, pꝛeserued in spices whiche they call Mummia.

Cornelius Agrippa

Of Surgerie. Cap. 85.

Surgerie is not yet spoken of, which is an other parte of Physicke, that cureth the diseases of the body which are in the fleshe the practises whereof be apparante and sure remedies, for the counsailes of other Physitions be uncertaine. The Surgeons see and feele what they do, and accordinge as neede requireth they chaunge, laye to, and take away: this among all the Artes of Physicke was the firste that came in vse. For when men in time past made warres amonge themselves: and wounded one another, they begaune to seeke remedies to heale their woundes. For they beleued that one man coulde cure the woundes that another had geuen. But they supposed that other infirmities, and paynes of the inward partes as engendred thoroowe the anger of the Goddes were not to be cured with naturall vertues. The first inuentoure then of Surgerie was Apis Kinge of Egypte, or as Clement of Alexandria wil, one more ancient then he called Mizria sonne of Caine, nephew of greate Noe. But Esculapius was the firste that wrote of Surgerie, Afterwarde Pythagoras, Empedocles, Parmenides, Democritus, Chiron, & Peon were excellent therein. Plinie saith that the firste whiche practised it in Rome was one Archagatus of Peloponesus, and that for the crueltie of cuttinge and searinge, he was commonly called a wounde maker, and that the name passed afterwarde to executioner, and finally that men waxed altogether loery of the Arte and disanulled it. Surgerie then is famous for the authoritie of excellent men nolesse then if they were the doinges of other Physitions, but infamous for the filthines of poysonous mattier and bloudy crueltie.

Of

Of the Anotomist Arte, or cuttinge of men by
Phisitions. Cap. 56.

Yet Anatomic doth surmount this Arte in cruelty,
an open bocherie of Phisitions & Surgeons, wher-
by they haue with most cruel tormentes dismem-
bered the malefactours that were condemned to dye open-
ly, sometime a live, and breathing. But nowe a dayes
become somewhat more gentle for the reverence of Chri-
stian religion, firste slaying the man with theire owne
hands, or of the hangman. With this cruelty they after-
warde cut open the lineles bodie, and tearinge asunder
mans bodie doo searche, and consider the placing, order,
measure, worke, nature, and secretes of euery member,
to learne thereby howe and in what places they shoulde
cure with this cruell diligence nolesse wicked, then hor-
rible and abhominable spectacle.

Of the Craft or Science of cuttinge brute beastes.

Cap. 57.

There is moreover an other practise of Phisicke that
is called curinge of cattal or beastes, which healeth
the diseases of brute beastes muche more certaine
and profitable then the other, inuented, as it is sayde by
Chiron, and made famous by Columella, Cato, Varro, Pe-
lagonius, and Vegetius most worthy writers. Yet these
ringed Phisitions do not onely accompte it a shame for
them, but also be altogether ignorant thereof and dis-
pise the same, they are very nice, and as it were the lap-
winge be delited with nothing but mans ordure. Where-
fore if any man aske them a medicine for his Asse, or Dre,
he shall immediately receiue displeasure in steede of a re-
medie: as if it were their dutie not onely to cure men, but
other liuing creatures also, especially them which be pro-
fitable unto manne, for whiche consideration Alphonsus

King of Aragon in time past hired two very cunninge
 Doctours of Physicke with great stipende, for horses and
 Dogges, and commaunded them that they shoulde with
 al diligence search, out what remedies, and what maner
 of curinge did agree to al the infirmities of beasts, which
 they doing, made a very profitable booke of these things.
 Iohn Ruell of Paris, did the like of late yeares a man very
 well learned in bothe tonges, and a notable Philosopher,
 who gathered a piked volume of the diseases of Horses,
 and theire remedies, out of most auncient Authours, as
 Apirchus, Hierocles, Theomestus, Pelagonius, Anatolius,
 Tiberius, Emelius, Archedamus, Hippocrates, Hemerius,
 Africanius, and out of Emilius the Spaniard, and Litorius
 Bonauetanus, profitable to al horseleaches with the great
 commoditie of the common weale.

Of Dictinge Physicke. Cap. 88.

That parte of Physicke whiche cureth by diete, is yet
 remayninge, wherein Asclepiades before others
 was chiefe, who hauinge for the moste parte taken
 away the vse of receites, reduced the whole Arte of Physi-
 cke, to the order of feeding, to the quantitie, and nature
 of meates, and to the seasoninge of them, from whom o-
 ther Physitions do not altogether disagree, but in this
 maner supposing that one standeth in neede of an other,
 feedinge sometimes of medicines, and the same likewise
 of the order and measure of feedinge: for this cause they
 commaunde, forbid, refuse, and blame meates & drinckes,
 whiche God hath created, & prescribe them rules of diete,
 not able to be obserued: and what meates they will not
 haue others to taste, themselves deuoure as pigges do
 acornes: and the rules which they prescribe to others they
 firste of al transgresse themselves not so muche of negli-
 gence as of a set purpose. For if they were bound to liue
 accordinge to these theire dietinge decrees, they shoulde
 greatly impair theire health: and if they permitted the
 diseased

diseased to live according to the lawes of nature, as they live, their purse would feel the smarte therof. Of these dietes speaketh Ambrose in this manner: The preceptes of Philosophie are contrary to the diuine state, which drawe men backe from fastinge, they suffer men not to watch, they withdraue men from settinge of the minde on meditation: and so be that putteth himselfe into the handes of the Philosophie, abandoneth himselfe. And Bernarde writing vpon Cantica, saith: Hippocrates and Socrates teache to saue soules in this worlde: Christe and his disciples to destroye them, which Master of these two wil ye folowe? He maketh himselfe manifest that reasoneth, this hurteth the eyes, this the heade, this the stomake: all manner of pulse is windy, chole oppresseth the stomake, milke burneth the heade, the breast broketh not drinke of water: whereof this cometh to passe, that thou canst scarce finde any thing to eate in whole rivers, fields, gardens, & cellars. But put the case that these wordes of Ambrose & Bernarde be spoken to Monkes & to no men els, whiche peradventure ought not to haue so great regarde of their health as of their profession: And it is not vnfitting, that ciuil men together with y^e regarde of their health should be delited also with varietie and daintines of fare, and meates, the firste Philosophie that cureth by diete doth promise, the seconde Coquerie doth performe, whiche is the knowledge to dress meates and drinckes. Therefore Plato calleth this the flatteresse of Philosophie, and many accounte it part of dietinge Philosophie: albeit Plinie, Seneca, and the residue of the schole of Philosophies doe confesse y^e diuers diseases are engendred thorow the varietie of daintie meates.

Of Coquerie. Cap: 89.

Coquerie is very profitable, and honest, if so be that it passe not the bowndes of discreation. And this consideration also hath moued excellent and moste continent men, that they were not ashamed to write of

Conqueris and seasoninges of meates. Of the Grekes
 Pantaleon, Mithecus, Ipiritus, Lophon, Egesippus, Paza-
 mus, Ipenetus, Heraclides the Syracusane, Tindaricus, the
 Syceonean, Symonastes of Chios, and Glancus, the Locren-
 sian, of the Romans Cato, Varro, Columella, Apicius, and
 of them of late yeares Platina. But the Asians were al-
 wayes in these things so luxurious and intemperate, that
 their name passed into the surname of garmands & glut-
 tons, which thereof we call Afotes: From hence as Titus
 Lianis receiveth, after the victorie of Asia foraine super-
 fluitie entred into the cite of Rome: and it was the firste
 time that bakets began to be prepared with greater dili-
 gence and cost; then before: then the roke which the
 ancientes helde for a most vile name began to be este-
 med, used and prized, and comminge out of the kitchen
 also rather bathed in brothe, besmoked with sotte, with
 pottes, platters, pette, moister, and spit entred into the
 scholes, and that which hitherto was a vile service, began to
 be accounted an honourable este: all whole studie is to
 yeare from all partes delicate dishes, and in all places to
 seek out divers kindes of meates to satisfie greedy glut-
 tons, many of which sorte Gellius reciteth out of Varro,
 that is to saye, the peacocke of Samos, the Woodcocke of
 Phrygia, the Cranes of Malta, the Goose of Ambracia, the
 Tunic of Chalcedonia, the Lamprey of Tartaria, the Fish
 Asinellus of Pessinus, the Oyters of Tarentum, the Sea-
 loppe of Chios, the Fish of Helops of Rhodes, the Goldonke
 of Cilicia, the Puttes of Tania, the Dates of Egypte, the
 chellens of Spaine, all which maners of eatinge have been
 founde out for the vnseemable lasciviousnes of excess and
 superfluitie. Apicius more then all others have sharped
 glory and fame of this arte, that of his name (as Septimus
 Florus testifieth) with a certaine philosophical imitation
 the surname of cookes is derived, whereby they be called
 Apician, of whome Seneca hath written in this manner, saie-
 inge, Apicius lived since I could remember, who publicly
 taught

taught the science of cokerie in y^e Citie out of which ones
in time past Philosophers were commaunded to depart as
corruptours of youth, & so with his doctrine he infected the
world. Plinie also most sharply termeth it y^e deapest goulf
of prodigall parsons: Finally there were so many instru-
mentes of the throte, so many prouocations of luste, so
many loytes of meates, that at the length it was neede-
ful to bytyle with lawes the pompe of the kitchin. For
this cause those auncient lawes concerninge sumptuous
fare were ordained: that is to saie, the law Archian, Fan-
nian, Didian, Licinian, Cornelian, the lawe of Lepidus, the
lawe of Antius Restio: but also Lucius Flaccus and his
companion censours, displaced Durionius out of the Se-
nate, because being tribune of the people he wente about
to fordoe a lawe whiche was made to cease the costes be-
stowed vpon bankettes, for Durionius very impudently
wente by into the pulpit to speake these wordes: The
bytyle is laide on yow Citizens which in no wise is not to
be endured, ye be bounde and tied in the bitter snare of
bondage, for there is a lawe published that willethe yow
to be sparinge and sober: wherefore let vs disanull that
gouernment couered with the ruste of vnpleasaunt old-
nesse: for to what ende haue we libertie, if they whiche
will, cannot spende their owne? There were also many
other edictes all which be now abolished, & taken awaye:
in so much that there was neuer any age that with grea-
ter pompe and excelle hath feed and cherished the carkeis
then this our: by reason thereof (as Malsonius saithe, and
after him our Hierome) we traualle both by sea & lande,
and with the labour of all our life we take paynes that
Mascadell, Tutue, and all y^e pretious meate make enter in-
to our throte: there are so many bittailinge houses nowe
a daies emonge vs, so many hosteries, so many sauernes
of gluttons & queanes, where men are made vnrhristie
thorow gourmandisinge, drunkennelle, and carnal plea-
sure, that oftentimes not without greate hinderauce of

Two Notable
gluttons.

the common weale they deuoure, and consume all theire
leure so many kindes of dishes are founde out, nowe a
daies, so many sauces for meates, so many orders, rules,
and ceremonies of tables, that the costliest bankettes of
the Asians, Milesians, Syberitans, Tarentins, and beside
this of Sardanapalus, Xerxes, Claudius, Tiberius, Vitel-
lius, Heliogabalus, Galene, Emperours & others of those
ancient gluttons (al which as y^e Historians declare passed
other nations & men in delices, superfluite & pleasure of
y^e throte) shalbe altogether vile, vnpleasant, & rusticall,
if they be compared with these our preparations of ban-
kettes. Furthermore it semeth that nothinge is donne
with the delicatenes of meate and drinke, excepte there
be also so greate abundance that causeth lothesomnes,
and which is enough to make Hercules drunken, who of-
tentimes was carried and dranke in one shippe, & with
sacietie of meate fill Milo the Crotonean, and the glutton
of Aurelian, the one of whiche was accustomed to eate a
hundred loaves of breade beside other meates, the other
deuoured in one daie at the table of Aurelian the Empe-
rour a whole Boze, a hundred loaves of bread, a sheepe,
and a rostinge pigge, and afterwarde dranke in a tunnell
more then a Whale coulde haue drunken: these thinges
are nowe a daies much vsed with vs in these bylandishe
publike bankettes, and dedications of Churches, and o-
ther of their feastes, ye woulde saie that they offered sa-
crifice vnto Bacchus, all thinges are there in suche wise
distained with furie, bloud and many mischieuous deedes
of gourmandise and drunkennesse, ye may there see also
the bankettes of the Centaures, from whom more depara-
teth without a scarre, and excessive eatinge, like to that
whiche Ouide writeth of Erichon.

Anon before him comes what e-
uer liues in sea, in lande
And aire, yet crieth he for more,
and though the dishes stande.

Before

Before his face full furnished
yet doth he still complaine,
Of hunger crauinge meate at meale,
the foode that would sustaine
VVhole houtholdes, townships, Shyres & Realmes
fuffice not him alone,
The more his pampred panche consumes
the more it maketh mone.
And as the sea receiues the brookes
of all the earthly Realmes,
And yet is neuer satisfied
with all the foreine streames.
And as the fell and raueninge fiere
refuseth neuer woode,
But burneth faggottes numberlesse
and with a furious moode.
The more it hath the more it still
desireth euermore,
Encreasinge in deuouringe through
encreasment of the store.
So wicked *Eristhons* mouth
in swallowinge of his meate,
VVas alwaies hungrie more and more
and longed aie to eate:
Meate tolde in meate, and as he ate
his panche for more did freate.
There were in time paste emonge the *Greekes*, & after-
warde emonge the *Romanes* wastlers very greate ea-
ters, but their infamie at the length was excedded by no-
ble men and Emperours: for *Albinus* who ones gover-
ned the Realme of *Fraunce*, deuoured at one supper a
hundzeth Peaches, ten Pompons, fve hundzeth Figges,
and thre hundzeth Oysters: and *Maximinus* the Empe-
rour, who succaded *Alexander Mammeas* sonne, did eate
in one daie fiftie pounce of fleshe, & dranke an Amphore
of wine: which is a measure of vij. gallons. Geta the Em-
perour

A french Kinge
a notable glut-
ton.

perour also is saide to haue ben of so vnbonest a life, that he commaunded meate to be brought accordinge to the order of the Alphabet, and for the space of thre daies together he sate at the table eatinge. And mozeouer (what offence is more wicked) whereas God and nature haue prouided vs meate and drinke for consideration of health and strength, we contrariwise abuse those diuerse blessings of meates for pleasure, and we gluttonously deuoure more meate then our bodies are able to receaue, gettinge thereby incurable diseases, wherfore we plainly perceauie that to be true whiche Musonius saithe, the seruantes more then the Masters, the countrey men more then the Citizens, the poore more then the riche, and al they which vse the grosse meates be harder, stronger, mightier, and better enduringe labours, & lesse weried, and very seldome sick, neither is there any that is more greaued with these greete sicknesses, that is to saie, the Dropsie, the Goute, the Morpheus, the Colicke, and suche like, then they which dispisinge comon fare lide by daintie meates, & contrariwise they whiche we se content with simple fare be healthiest. With him also agreeth Cornelius Celsus, who saithe that meane fare is holisome, the heapinge vp of fastes pestilent, and al sauced thinges are vnholisome for two causes, because more is consumed by reason of the sweetnesse, then is necessarie, and it is with more difficultie digested. Mozeouer many men and very substantiall authours haue blamed these prouocations of gluttonie, and the artificial pleasure of meates, but there are some which vnder the name of Religion do not onely detest gourmandise and superfluite, but also abstaining from flesh do blame some meates, which God hath created to be eaten: but they are able to drinke more wine then the Epicures, wherein (as the Apostle saith) is luxuriousnes, sayinge that they abstaine and faste, when they haue filled themselves with all kinde of fishe, and with the beste wines, for which they carrie about their lippes, their

their tongues, teeth & bellies armed, yet not their purses, but we haue sufficiently spoken hereof, wherefore let vs now passe from Cokerie to Adgeberica, that is, to the Alcumistes kitchin, which consumeth no lesse substance then the throte.

Of Alcumie. Cap.90.

A Lcumie then whether it ought to be termed an Arte, or a counterfaite colouringe, or a pursuite of nature, is doubtlesse a notable and a suffered deceipt, the vanitie whereof is easely perceaued in this, that it promiseth the thinges whiche nature in nowise can abide, nor attaine, whereas notwithstandinge no Arte can surmounte nature, but dothe imitate, and followe it alwile of, and the force of nature is farre stronger then of Arte.

An Arte that good men doo mistrust
an Arte of many hated.

It causeth vsers of the Arte
of all men to be hated.

So many liers there appeare
so many false are founde:

That they do aie themselues beguile
and others eke confounde.

Whilist that thei go about to alter the kindes of things, and suppose to forge (as they saie) a certaine blessed stone of Philosophers, with the whiche like Midas all bodie touched, become sodainly Golde & Silver: Moreover they endeouore to make a certaine quint essence to come downe from the high & inaccessible heauen, by the means wherof they promise vs not only more riches then Cressus had, but also expellinge olde age do promise vs youth and continual health, and almost immortallitie together with great substance.

But yet emonge them all
there is none founde,

ss

VVhich

Cornelius Agrippa

Which maketh proufe, and wonders greate
in trewe effect to founde.

But with some experimentes of Whisicke, with Ceruse,
with read paintinge, with Stibium, & with Sope, & suche
like paintinges womanlike colours and smearinge of old
ruines: and such as the holy Scripture termeth, whorish
ointments: they gather by monie to furnish their shoppe
of Alcumie, wherfore it is finally growen to a Proverbe:
every Alcumist is a Whisition or a Sope maker, they en-
riche with wordes the eares of men that lightly beleue,
to the ende y^t they maie empte their purses. And to whom
they promise riches, of them they aske monie. Hereby
it is manifestly perceaued that this Arte is of no price,
but to be great trifles, & vaine deuises of a p^euⁱsh minde.
Not withstandinge they finde men very desirous of so
great felicitie, whom they with a marueilous witte per-
swade that they will get greater riches in Hydrargirie,
then nature geueth in golde, and whom they haue alrea-
die deceaued thre or fower times, they alwaies beguile
againe vnawares with new sights: & through this mon-
struous trumperie they enforce them to blowe the fire at
the soznace mouthe, & there is no sweeter madness then to
beleue that a stodie thinge can be made to flie, and a flie-
ynge thing, stodie: so the warste coles, sulphure, ordure,
venims, & vaines, and every harde paine is to you more
pleasant then honie, vntil that after they haue consumed
and turned into ashes all their possessions, marchaundise
& patrimonie, whilest that they pleasauntly do promise
rewardes of longe labour, Golde to growe, & perpetuall
health with youth, when they haue a longe time spent
their substance, then they beginne to ware olde, aged,
p^ozely apparailled, hunger staruen, alwaies smellinginge of
sulphure, besm^ered with coles, and paraliticke thorow
the continuall handlinge of quicke siluer, riche onely in
the droppinge of their nose, but as concerninge other
thinges so miserable, that for thre halpence they will
sell

sell their soule, and that transfozmation that they go a-
bout to make in mettals, they proue it in themselves,
made now of Alcumistes, Cacochimickes of Whistions,
fewterers, of sopemakers, meate sellers, a laughinge
stocke to the people, a manifest foolishnes, & a male game
to the multitude, and they that in their youth haue despi-
sed to liue in a meane estate, subiecte all their life time to
the deceiptes of Alcumistes, being now wahren olde men
are compelled to begge in great pouertie, and beinge in
so great calamitie, in steede of fauour and mercy they re-
ceauie contempte, and skorne, oftentimes constrained tho-
rowe pouertie doe degenerate to naughtie Artes, to coun-
terfaite monie, and other falsifications, and therfoze this
Arte was not onely bannished by the ciuill lawes from
the Romane publike weale, but also by the Canon de-
crees, was forbidden in all the Christian Church. But it
also at this daie al they which without y singular graunt
of the Prince doe exercise the Arte of Alcumie, were ban-
nished out of the Realme & Prouinces, puttinge thereto
the confiscation of their goodes, and the punishment of
the bodie, doubtlesse we shoulde not haue so muche coun-
terfaite monie, wherewith at this daie well neare al men
are beguiled with the greate detrimente of the common
wealthe. For this cause I suppose that Amasis in time
passe kinge of Egypte made a lawe, whereby euery man
was constrained to render an accompte to a Magistrate
appointed for that purpose, with what handicrafte or oc-
cupation he mainteyned him selfe, and he that did not do
it death was his punishment, I coulde saie moreouer be-
ry many things of this Arte, (yet not very much against
me,) if I had not swozne, (as they are wonte to doe which
receauie orders) to kepe silence. And this silence is so con-
stantly, and religiously obserued of the auncient Philo-
sophers and writers, that any where there is founde no
Philosopher and faithfull writer of approued authoritee,
that in any place hath with one worde made mention of
this

Cornelius Agrippa

this Arte: which thing hath induced many to beleue that al the bookes of that Arte were but of late yeares inuented, to the which opinion the obscure names, & vsed by no other, of Giber, Morienus, Gilgilis, and others of that sorte purchase great credite, & also the vnapt termes of things which they vse, the grosnesse of sentence, and the corrupt manner of searchinge the causes and natures of thinges. Yet there are some whiche thinke that the skinne of the golden flæse was a booke of Alcumie written vpo a skinne after the manner of the auncients, wherein was contained the knowledge to make golde: as it is read that Dioclesian, when he had searched with great diligence, caused al the bookes of this sorte to be burned, which were amonge the Egyptians, which were said to haue bene most skillfull in this Arte: least that the Egyptians heapinge by riches, and trusting in the aboundaunce of golde, mighte sometimes presume to make warre against the Romans, and that afterwarde this Arte was alwaies accompted mischieuous and forbidden by the publike edict of Cæsar: but it should be ouer longe to recompte all the foolish miseries, & vaine riddles of this Arte, of the grene Lion, of the fugitiue Harte, of the flæing Eggle, of the daunsing fowle, of the Dragon deuouringe his taile, of the swollen towde, of the crows head, and of that blacke, whiche is blacker then blacke, of the seale of Hermes, of the dirte of foolishnes, (of wisdom I should saie) & of infinite like trifles: Finally, of y onely blessed thing alone, besides which there is no other thinge, yet to be founde in every place, the subiecte of the most holy Stone of the Philosophers, I meane, y is to saie, I haue almost rashly vttered the name of the thing, wherby I should be a sacrilege & forsworne, yet I will speake it with circumlocution, but somewhat more obscure, that none but yoge beginners in the Arte, & they which be trained vp in the mysteries thereof, maie vnderstande it. It is a thinge, whiche hath substance, & not ouermuch fierie, nor altogether earthy, nor simple watric,

The Philo-
sophers Stone.

watſie, noꝛ a moſte ſharpe, noꝛ moſt blunte qualittē, but indifferent, and light in touchinge, & after a ſoꝛte tender, oꝛ at the leaſt not harde, not vnpleaſant, but after a ſoꝛte ſwēte in taſte, ſoꝛte in ſmell, delectable to the ſight, pleaſant and ſocunde to the hyꝛinge, large to the imaginatio: I maie ſay no moꝛe, & yet there be thinges greater then theſe: but I deēme this Arte (foꝛ the familiarittē whiche I haue with it) eſpecially woꝛthie of ꝑ honour, with which Thucidides deſineth an honeſt woman, ſayinge that ſhe is beſte, of whole ꝑraiſe oꝛ diſpraiſe there is very litle cōmunication. This onely I will ſaie, that the Alcumistes be of all men the naughtieſt, foꝛ wheras God commaundeth that man ſhould eaſe bꝛeade with the ſweate of his browes, and in an other place he ſpeaketh by ꝑ Prophet, thou arte bleſſed, and ſhalt ꝑroſper becauſe thou ſhalt lue by the labour of thy handes, theſe men beinge deſpiſers of Gods commaundement, & of the ꝑromiſed bleſſednes, farre from labour, and (as it is ſayde in womens woꝛke, and in boyes paſtime they go about to make mountaines of golde. I do not denie that of this Arte many moſt excellent woꝛkemanſhippes had theire beginninge. From hence came the temperatures of Aſure, of Cinnaber, of Sinople, of Purple, and of that whiche they call muſicall golde, and of other coloures, we are bounde to this Arte foꝛ latten mettall, foꝛ the mixtions of all mettals, foꝛ the faſtninges of them together, foꝛ the tryings of them, and foꝛ their ſeparations, the inuentions of the gunne a fearful inſtrument belongeth to this Art, from this came the moſte noble Arte of glaſſe makinge, whereof one Theophilus hath wꝛiten a very goodly booke. And Plinie declareth that in the time of Tiberius the Emperour the temperature of glaſſe was inuented, whereby it was made ſoſte, and flexible, but thereof the ſhop was abolithed by Tiberius, and alſo that the Artiſicer of ſo greate an induſtrie (if Iſidorus be credible) was put to deathe, and that was done, leaſte that golde ſhoulde be leſſe eſteemed then

glasse, and that siluer and brasse shoulde not be esteemed as they were befoze. But of these thinges we haue sufficiently spoken.

Of the Lawe and Statutes. Cap. 91.

It remaineth nowe to speake of the knowledge of the Lawe, which auunteth y^e thoe alone knoweth to make difference betwene true & false, iuste & vniuste, honest and dishonest, of which facultie at this day the Pope and the Emperoure be chiefe heades and rulars, which bothe that they haue al the Lawes layd by in the chesse of their breste, to whom wil alone serueth for Lawe, with the arbitermene whereof they presume to iudge and rule all Sciences, Artes, Scriptures, Opinions, and the woorkes of men whatsoeuer they be. For this cause Leo the Pope straightly commaunded all Christian people, that nomā in y^e Church of God should presume to iudge any thinge, nor any man, to iustifie, nor to discusse any matter: but by the Authoritē of the holy Counsailes, Canons, and Decretals, whose heade is the Pope: and also that we cannot vse the determination of the beste learned menne, of all the holiest deuines, but so farre forth as the Pope dothe permit, & shall authoize by his Canons: And in an other place the Canon dothe forbidde, that no other volume or booke be receiued by the deuines (yea thowout y^e whole worlde saith he) but the same, which is allowed throughout the Romishe Church by the Canons of the Pope. The like Lawe the Emperoure pretendeth to haue in Philosophie, Physicke, and other sciences, grauntinge no authoritē to any knowledge, but so muche as is genen them by the skilfulnes of the Law, wherunto (as he saith) if all Sciences and Artes that are, be compared, they are all vile & vnprofitable. For this cause Vlpiane saith: the Lawe is King of al thinges bothe humane and diuine, whose vertue is (as Modestine saith) to commaunde, to graunt,

graunt, to punish, to forbid, the whiche dignities there is
founde no office more great: and Pomponius in his Lawes
defineth, that it is the gift and inuention of God, and the
determination of all wise men: because these aunciente
Lawe makers, to the end they might purchase authoritie
by their decrees emonge the ignorant people, they
made semblante that they did as they were taught by the
Gods. So made Osiris the Egyptians beleue that he recei-
ued them of Mercurie, Zoroastes the Bactrians, & Persians
of Oromasus, Charinundas the Carthagians of Saturne,
Solon & Athenians of Minerua, Zantrastates the Arima-
spians, of a god deuine power, Zamolxis the Scythians of
Vesta, Minos the Cretensians of Iupiter, Licurgus the La-
cedemonians of Apollo, Numa Pompilius the Romaines
of the Nymph Egeria. Beholde now we may perceiue howe
this knowledge of the Lawe presumeth to beare swaye
ouer all other Artes, and exerciseth tyrannie, and howe
preferringe it selfe before all other disciplines as it were
the firste begotten of the Gods doth despise them as vile
and vaine, although it be altogether made of nothinge
els but of fraile and very weake inuentions and opinions
of men, which things be of all other the weakest, and is al-
tered at euery chaunge of time, of the State, and of the
Prince, whiche tooke firste beginninge of the sinne of our
firste parent, whiche was cause of all our miseries, from
whence the first Lawe of corrupt nature proceeded which
they terme the Lawe of nature, whose notable decrees
are these: It is lawfull to resist force with force, he that
breaketh promise with thee, breake thou promise with
him, It is no deceipt to deceiue him that deceiueth. A
gileful parson is not bound to a gileful parson in nothing.
Blame with blame may be requited. Malfactors ought
not to reioyce of iustice nor faithfulness. Inurie is not
donne to him that is willinge. It is lawfull for them that
trafficke to deceiue one an other. The thinge is so muche
worthy as it maye be solde for. It is lawfull for a man to
prouide

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prouide for himselfe with the losse of an other. Roman is bounde to an impossible thinge. When it must needs be that I, or thou be confounded, I will chuse rather that thou be confounded then I. And many such like thinges, whiche afterwarde were witten among the Lawes. Finally the Lawe of nature is that wee shoulde not dye for thirste, for hunger, for colde, and not to hurte our selues with watchinges, and labour. Whiche abandoninge all the repentaunce of Religion, and the workes of repentaunce, dothe appointe the pleasure of the Epicure for the chiefest felicitie. Afterwarde the Lawe of Nations arose from whence warre, murder, bondage were deriued, & dominions separated. After this came the Ciuill or Populare Lawe, whiche any people maketh peculiere to himselfe: from whence haue growen so many debates emonge menne, that as the lawes doe witnes, there haue ben made moze businesses, then there be names of thinges. For whereas men were prone and enclined to discorde, the publishinge of iustice whiche was to be obserued by meanes of the Lawes was a necessarie thinge: to the end that the boldenes of naughty men might in suche wise be bidden: and emong the wicked innocencie might be false, and the honest might liue quietly emonge the dishoneste. And these be that same so notable beginninges of the Lawe, wherein there haue benne almoste innumerable Lawemakers: Of which Moses was the first, who wrote Lawes to the Jewes, at the very same time that Cecrops gaue Lawes to the Egyptians: Pheroneus after these was the firste, that gaue Lawes to the Grecians: after him Mercurie Trismegiste gaue Lawes to the Egyptians, afterwarde Dracon and Solon to the Athenians, Licurgus to the Lacedemonians, and Palamedes was the firste, that made Lawes of warre, to iudge an hoste. Romulus was the firste that gaue Lawes to the Romaines, whiche were called Curiatee. After whome Numa Pompilius made Lawes of Religion, and other Kinges of the Romaines by

by succession made theire Lawes, all whiche were afterwarde witten in the booke of Papyrius, from whence the Ciuill Lawe of Papyrius tooke name, after these the Law of the xij Tables came abzoade, In like manner the Law of Flauian, the Lawe of Helian, the Lawe of Hortensius and the Law of Honorarius of the pretor. Moreover there were made the decrees of the people, the decrees of the senate, the Lawe of Magistrates and custome, and finally al the authoritē geuen to the Prince to appoint Lawes: I wil not speake of those innumerable Lawiers the most parte of whiche are witten in the seconde Lawe, De origine iuris. They whiche haue gonne aboute to bringe the Ciuill Lawe into one volume, of these C. Pompeius did firste attempte this, afterwarde Caius Caesar, but bothe preuented by the Ciuill warres and vntimly death could not atcheiue theire purpose. At the length Constantine renewed all those aunciente Lawes, and Theodosius the younger redured them into a booke called after his name: lastly Iustinian made the Code whiche at this daye is in vse. All the authoritē of the Ciuil Lawe is in the people, and in the Prince: and the Ciuill Lawe is nothinge els but that which men will do with a common consent. For this cause Iulian saithe, that the Lawes binde vs for no other cause, but that they haue ben approued by the iudgemente of the people, whiche with a common consent hath transferred all Empire and power to the Prince: wherefore if any thinge please the people and the Prince, this then standeth in force bothe by custome and ordinaunces of the Lawe, although there appeare erreure or falsset, for common erreure maketh Lawe, and the matter iudged, trouth. Whiche Vlpiane hath taught vs in these words, to wēt, that he ought to be taken for a frē man: of whom sentence hath benne geuen, although in effeate he be a libertine, that is, of a bonde man made frē, because the matter iudged is taken for truthe. The same also saithe that one Philip a Barbarian, who ran from his mayster,

What the ciuil Lawe is.

It demaunded

demanded at Rome the Pretourshippe, the whiche he
 administred, & at length was knowe, it was iudged that
 none of those thinges shoulde be altered, which he bring
 a seruaunt did in the couering of so great a dignitie. And
 in an other place an olde man of the countrie for the au-
 thoritie of the Emperour is so much worshipped, that the
 lawter woulde that men should argue with his wordes.
 Paulus also y best learned in the Lawe of them that were
 amonge the Romaines saithe that at this day, for the vse
 of Emperoures, if a candlesticke of siluer be reckoned e-
 amonge siluer, that it is vnderstode siluer, and not hous-
 holde stuffe, because erreure maketh Lawe. The same he
 openly confesseth of the Lawes and decrees of the senate,
 that a reason cannot be geuen of all thinges, which haue
 benne ordained by our elders. Hercof then we knowe
 that al the knowledge of the Ciuill Lawe depndeth vpon
 the onely opinion and will of menne, without any other
 reason vrginge and enforcinge to be so, then either the
 honestie of manners, or commoditie of liuinge, or the au-
 thoritie of the Prince, or the force of armes, whiche if it
 be the preserueresse of good menne, and the reuengeresse
 of wicked men, it is a good discipline, finally it is a moste
 wicked thinge for the naughtinesse whiche is done when
 the Magistrat or the Prince neglecteth it, suffereth it, or
 alloweth it. But that more is, the opinion of Demo-
 nactes was that all Lawes were vnprofitable and super-
 fluous as they which were not made neither for good, nor
 ill menne, for asmuche as they haue no neede of Lawes,
 and these be made neuer the better for them. Further-
 more Cato confesseth in Liuius that vneth any Lawe can
 be made, whiche to all menne maye be profitable and in
 y whiche very often it doth not happen that requite figh-
 teth with the rigour of the Lawe: Aristotle also defining
 equitie, calleth it the correction of a righteous Lawe, in
 whiche pointe he faileth, because it is made generally. Is
 it not then sufficiently declared by this alone, that all the
 force

force of the Law & Justice doth not so much depend vpon
the Lawes as vpon the honestie and equitie of y^e Judge.

Of the Canon Lawe. Cap. 92.

From the Ciuill Lawe proceeded the Canon or the
FPopes Law, which to many may appeare most holy,
so wittily it doth shadow y^e precepts of couetousnes,
and manners of robbinge vnder the coloure of godlines.
Albeit there be very fewe things therein vrdained apper-
teyninge to godlines, to religion, to the worshipping of
God, and to the solemnité of the Sacraments. I wil not
speake of some which are contrary & repugnaunte to the
word of God. All the residue are nothing but cōtentions,
stiffes, pride, pompe, meanes to gaine and get, and y^e de-
crées of the Popes of Rome, to whom the Canons be not
sufficient, which were in time passed made by the holy fa-
thers, except they continually adde to them new decrees,
strawes, extrauagants, declaratiōs, and rules of chancery,
so that there is no ende nor measure of making Ca-
nons, which alone is the ambition & desire of the Bishops
of Rome that is to say, to make newe Canons, whose ar-
rogancie is growen so farre, that they haue commaunded
the Angels of heauen, & haue presumed to robbe & bringe
their bootie out of hel and to put in their hand among the
sprites of the deade: & on the Lawe of God, also they haue
sometimes exercised their tyzannie, interpreting, decla-
ring, & disputinge: to the ende that nothinge might want
or be derogated from the greatnes of his power. Is it not *A wicked par-*
true that Pope Clement in that leaden bul, which at this *don of Pope*
day is yet kept in Vienna, in Lemosin, & in Poitiers, in the *Clement.*
coffers of priuileges, commaundeth the Angels of heauē,
that they shoulde bringe into euerlasting ioyes the soule
of him that vseth to go in pilgrimage to Rome for indul-
gences, & there dying, beinge deliuered out of the paynes
of purgatory: sayinge mozeouer: we will not in any wise

It y

that

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that he go to the paynes of hell: grauntinge also to them that be signed with the crosse, that at theire prayers they maye take thzee or foure soules out of purgatoꝝe whiche they list, which erroneous & intolerable temeritie, I wil not say heresie, the schole of Paris did then openly detest & reproue, but peraduenture repenting at this day, y thel had not interpreted that Hyperbolicall zeale of Clement with some godly inuention, that the thinge might rather flozish then perishe, seinge that for their affirming or denyng, nothing is altered in the doctee & authoritie of the Pope, whose Canons & decrees haue in such sorte bounde al diuinitie, that no diuine be he neuer so contentious darct to determine, no not imagine, or dispute any thinge contrarie to the Popes Canons without protestatiō and leaue, as Martial singeth of Rufus:

What euer *Rufus* saithe he pardon doth obtaine,
If laugh he do, if weepe, if speake, if tongue refraine,
If suppe he do, affirme. denie, aske, all is one,
If he be not forgeuen, his tongue will quite be gone.

Furthermoze we haue learned out of their Canons, and decrees, that the patrimonie of Chziste is Kingedomes, Castles, Donations, Foundations, Riches, & possessions, and that Empire and rule, belongeth to the Prelates of Chziste, and to the Prelates of the Church, & that iurisdiction & temporal power is the sword of Chzist, and that the Person of the Pope is the rocke beinge the foundatiō of the Church, that the Bishops are not onely the Ministers of the Church, but also heades of the Church, and that the euangelicke doctrine, the seruencie of faith the contempte of the worlde are not onely the goodes of the Church, but reuenewes, tenthes, offeringes, collections, purple, miters, golde, siluer, pearle, possessions, & monie: and that the authoritie of the Pope is to make warres, to breake truce, to breake othes, & to assolie from obedience, & of the house of praier to make a den of theues, & so the Pope can depose a Bishop without cause, y he can grue that

that whiche is an other mans, that he cannot commit for-
mony, that he cannot dispence against his vowes, against
his othe, against the Lawe of nature, and none may saye
vnto him, why doest thou this: & also that he can as they
say for some grieuous cause dispence againste al the new
Testamente, and to drawe not onely the thirde part, but
also the soules of the faithfull into hell. That the dutie of
Bishops is not now as it was in time past to preach the
worde of God, but with buffets to confirme childerne, to
geue orders, to dedicate Churches, to Baptise belles, to
hallowe Altars, and Chalice, to blesse Vestmentes and
Images, whiche esteeme theire wittes more meete for
higher matters, & leauing y charge to certayne Bishops,
which haue nothing els but the title, go in ambassade to
Kings: they be presidentes of their Oratories: or attend
vpon Duellies: excused for a sufficient great, & waightie
cause not to serue God in Churches, so that they royally
honour the Kinge in the Courte. Herof these causes take
their beginninges, by meanes wherof at this daie with-
out simonie Bishopricks, and Benefices, be bought and
solde, and mozeouer what faires and markets soener be
in pardons, grauntes, indulgences, dispensations, & such
like manners of robberies, by whom also there is a price
set in the free remissions of sinnes geuen by God, & there
is founde a meane to gaine by the punishmentes of Hell.
Farthermoze that false donation of Constantine proce-
ded from this lawe, albeit in effect, & with the testimonie
of Gods worde, Caesar cannot leaue his charge, neither
the parson of the Clergie ought to vsurpe the thinge that
belonge to Caesar, but of infinite lawes of ambition, of
pride, & of tirannie: I will onely declare vnto you some,
that purchase credence to them, whiche I haue alreadie
mentioned: Searche out therefore, if ye please in the
auncient Decretals, the Cap. Significasti. &c. and the cap.
Venerabilem de elec. the cap. Si summus pontifex de sen-
tentia excomunic. the cap. Inter cœtera de offic. iudi. ordi-

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Loke after in the sixte of the Decretals made by that traunt of Popes Boniface the eight, and loke what he saith in the Prologue, and in the first chapter De immunitate Ecclesiarum, neither dothe that moſte arrogant lawe of Clement: Pastoralis de senten. & re iudicata, with the extrauagant of John the xij. whiche beginneth, Ecclesie Romanæ, and an other of the same vpon nations. And the extrauagante of Boniface the eight, Vnam Sanctam. Finally of the compilatiõ of Gratian come to my minde, the Cap. Si cuius distin. 14. the cap. Si omnis dist. 18. the cap. Sic omnes. the cap. Enumero, the cap. In memoriam, the cap. Si Romanorum dist. 19. the cap. Omnes dist. 22. the ca. Tibi domino dist. 60. the ca. Constantinus dist. 96. the cap. Quando dist. 86. with the Glose thereupon, the cap. Si Papa dist. 60. There are mozeouer beside these, the cap. Cuncta. 9. q. 3. the cap. Conquestus. 15. q. 6. the cap. Sunt qui. 23. q. 5. omnium & q. 8. the cap. Omni. 30. q. 1. cap. Omnia. He that will diligently cramine these Canons, & others like, ſhal perceaue what these great, maruellous, and hidden misteries are, whiche some Popes of Rome do fructifie in their Canons, turninge also the thinges whiche are spoken els where in the holy Scriptures, and sometimes counterfeitinge them, and with these their deuises likening & applyinge them. Fro hence sprange those Concordances (as they terme them) of the Bible, and of the Canons. Mozeouer then this so many titles of robberies, of clokes, of indulgences, of bulles, of confessionals, of pardons, of rescriptes, of testaments, of dispensations, of priuileges, of elections, of dignities, of prebendes, of houses, of holy Churches, of liberties, of the place of iudgement, of iudgements, and of such other like thinges, finally the whole Canon Lawe is of all the most inconstaunt, & moze mutable then the Chamelcon, and moze intricate then Gordians knotte, and that same Christian Religion, at the beginninge whereof Christe toke awaye ceremonies, hath nowe moze then euer the
Jewes

Yetes had, the palse of which being put thereto, the light
& swete pike of Chziste is become much more greauous
then all the reste, and the Christians are enforced to liue
rather after the order of the Canons, then after the
Gosple. The whole knowledge of bothe Lawes is occu-
pied aboute nothinge but transitorie, fraile, sitinge, and
vaine thinges, worldly affaires, entercourses, enmities
of the comons, aboute the murders of men, robberies,
theftes, spoiles, factions, cōspiracies, wronges, and trea-
sons. Moreover then this perjuries of witnessles, falsifi-
cations of Iurataries, collusions of Aduocates, corrupti-
ons of iudges, ambitions of counsaillours, raueries of
presidentes by whome widowes are oppressed, popilles
vndone, good men exiled, poore men troden vnder foote,
innocentes condemned, and as Iuuenall saith:

The crows vnharmed scape, the doves be vexed sore.

And blinde men haue altogether prepared for them-
selues, & incurred those thinges which thei haue thought
themselues able to eschewe by the meanes of the Lawes
and Canons, because these Lawes and Canons come not
from God, nor be addressed to God: but are deriued from
the corrupte nature and witte of men, and are inuented
for gaine and couctousnesse.

Of the Arte of Aduocates. Cap. 93.

There is yet an other exercise of the lawe, whiche
they terme the Arte Placitatorie, or els Aduocato-
rie, as they saie, very necessarie, a most auncient
Arte, and full of deceiptes, craftely set out with a colour
of perswation. Whiche is nothing els, but to know how
to entreate the iudge gently with perswation, and to
know howe to vse the lawes at their fantasie, or els in-
uentinge Gloses, and commentaries, to make & vnmake
all lawes accordinge to their pleasure, or to auoide them
with all manner of subtill Argutes, or to prolonge a de-
scriptfull

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*They which are
emōg vs termed
petie foggers
haue this vice
of Aduocates
engrassed in the
whiche either of
wante of Cli-
entes incēse the
poore and felie
men of the coun-
trie to goe to
Lawe, and hea-
ring their cau-
ses, affirme the
to be good. sup.
plying the place
of counsaylours.
and raising vp
for the valewe
of a shillinge
great contenti-
ons, do make of
a fire sparkle a
burning flame.
I woulde not
haue this to be
thought spoken
of the Attorneis
of Englande.*

scriptful cōtroversie. To alledge the Lawes in such wise,
that eq. ite is turned topsyturvie, to entangle the au-
thoritee of the glossers in suche sorte, that the meaninge
of the lawe, & the minde of the lawemaker is subuerted.
To erie out with a loude voice, to be shamelesse, presum-
ptuous, and clamorous and obstinate in pleadinge is in
this Arte of greate importaunce. And he is accompted
the beste Aduocate, whiche allureth most to variaunce, &
puttinge them in hope to overcome, perswadeth them to
goe to lawe, and incenseth them with wicked counsailes,
whiche seeketh for appeales, whiche is a notable tangler, &
author of variaunces, whiche with the bablinge & force
of his tongue can prate of euery thinge, & also can make
one cause better then an other with the conueighaunces
of iudgements, and by this meane to make true & right-
ous thinges appeare doubtfull & naught, and with theire
armes to bannishe, destrole, and ouerthrow iustice, with
whome?

Nought els is Iustice but a publike meede,
The lawe is solde, whiles golde the iudge doth feede.
But the thinges also which are not, that is to witte, the
finall ende of thinges and silence, they sell for monie, for
as none of them speaketh without his fee, so he holdeth
not his peace without rewarde, after the example, as I
thinke, of Demosthenes, who when he had demaunded
Aristodemus a maker of Enterludes, howe muche he had
receaued for playnge in an Enterlude, he answered a
talente: but I saide Demosthenes haue receaued moze to
hold my peace. For the tongue of pleaders is so damage-
able, that if it be not bounde with giftes, it cannot be
chosen but that it will hurte.

Of the Arte of the Notarie and Proctour. Cap. 94.

NExt vnto these the Proctoures and Notaries come
in place, whiche they terme Tabelliones, all whose
inturies, damages, naughtines, & falseties we must
patiently

patiently suffer, forsomuche as they take to haue gotten credite, licence, and power to do all thinges thorow the Apostolike and imperiall authoritie. And emonge them they be the chiefest, which know beste to trouble the place of iudgement, to cause controuersies, to confounde causes, to forge false willes, obligations, supplications, and writes, to know also excellently to deceaue, beguile and when it is needefull to forswear, & write false. To dare to do all mischiefes, and suffer not themselves to be overcome by any in imagininge deceiptes, willes, craftes, malicious altercations, snares, entrappings, subtill practises, encombrances, controuersies, circumventions, Scylls, & Charibdes. Furthermoze no Notarie can make so sure an instrument, as they terme it, but that it is necessarie to go to lawe a freshe, if any aduersarie will goe aboute to disanull thesame. For he will saie either that there is some thing lefte out, or that there is falsset, or deceipte, or els he will late some other exceptio, to impugne the credite of the writinge, or notarie. And these be y remedies of the lawe, whereunto they teache contentious parsons to flie; these be the watches, vnto whiche, they saie, that the lawe geueth succour, excepte there be some that had lieffer fight then strue. For he shall haue so much lawe, as with his power he shalbe able to defende, wherefore the lawe saith: that we cannot resiste them that be stronger then vs.

Of the knowledge of the Lawe. Cap. 95.

Hther do these moste Huge Giauntes also loke, which contrarie to the ordinance of Iustinian haue made so many great and infinite volumes of Glosses, commentaries, and expositions, euery of them interpretinge diuersly one from an other. Furthermoze they haue brought forth with moste vnhappy fruitfulness so many stormes of opinions, and so many annotations of moste subtill counsailes, and caufels, with whiche the

U b

naughtie

mighty practises of Aduocates are instructed and main-
 tained: whiche do so muche binde theire reputation with
 the famous memorie of those Lawiers thozow every pe-
 riode, and (as they terme them) Paragraphes, as though
 the veritie consisteth not rather in reasons, then in con-
 fused testimonies drawen out of the vile multitude of
 very obstinate and triflinge parsons, emonge whome is
 so much deceipte, wzangling, and discorde, that he which
 disagreeeth not from others: he that knoweth not how to
 gaine saie other mens wordes with newe opinions, and
 bringe all apparante thinges in doubt, and with doubt-
 full expositions to applie well inuented Lawes to theire
 deuises, is accompted little or nothing learned. For this
 cause all the knowledge of the Lawe is betome a naugh-
 tie counsaile and a deceiptfull nette of iniquitie: these be
 the polices, these be the Artes, with whiche at this date
 Christendome is gouerned, with which Empires, King-
 domes, and Souerainties of the people be established:
 and of these knaues there be chosen Officiales, Sena-
 toures, and Presidents of the Parliaments of Kingdomes
 and Princes, as if they whiche haue bene hitherto vn-
 righteous Aduocates, shoulde be better Judges, & in the
 ende such as these are become head rulers of Realmes.
 These also be to be dread of their Kinges, as in time past
 Titans were of Iupiter. Finally from them come these
 gorbellied Chauncelloures of Emperours and Kinges,
 and these Secretaries clad in Purple, to whom all mat-
 ters of waight be committed: which sell and compell men
 to buy of them al things, placardes of the Prince, giftes,
 benefices, offices, dignities, letters of the Prince, and
 writtes, moreover righte, iustice, lawe, equitie, and hone-
 stie. Accordinge to whose iudgment the friends and e-
 nemies of Kinges be reckened, with whome accordinge
 to their pleasure they sometimes make league, and some-
 time make mortall warre. And when they from moste
 base estate, by meanes of a most couctous selling of their
 voice,

hoice, haue climbed to so highe degree of dignitie, they haue therewithal such a mischieuous boldnes, that some time they dare condemne Princes, and without the determination of the counsaile, and without declaring the cause do condemne them to die: & thus they be authoures of changinge the states in Kingdomes, they in the meane season beinge puffed vp with pride through their robberies, and theueries.

Of the Inquisitours Arte. Cap. 96.

Vnto this companie also belonge the Inquisitours of Heretickes, of the order of preachinge Freres, whose iurisdiction although it ought to be grounded vpon true doctrine & the holy Scriptures, yet they do moste cruelly exercise all this Arte accordinge to the Canon Lawe, and decrees of the Popes, as if it were impossible that the Pope should erre, neglectinge the Holy Scripture as it were a deade letter, and shadowe of the truth: and whiche is more, as they saie, do caste it farre of as the shield and rampire of Heretickes. Neither do they allowe the Traditions of ancient Doctours & Fathers, sayinge, that they maie be deceaued and deceaue, but they doe geue lesnell to the Church of Rome alone, which, as they saie, cannot erre, whose head is the Pope, and to the stile of the Romishe Church; as to the matke of falthe, demandinge nothinge els, when they make Inquisition, but that the offender beleue in the Church of Rome: whiche if he shall affirme, forthwith they saie, the Church of Rome condemneth this proposition either hereticall, or sinnesfull, or offensive to godly eares, or derogatiue from the Ecclesiasticall authoritie, and immediately they compele him to recante and reuoke that which he hath spoken. But if the parson for whom Inquisition is made, doe than goe aboute to defende his opinion with testimonies of the Scripture, or with other reasons, interruptinge

The order of making Inquisition.

interruptinge him with greate noyse and angrie checkes
they saie, that he hath not to doe with bachelours, & scho-
lers in the chayze, but with Judges, in the iudgemente
seate, that there he maie not strine and dispute, but must
answere plainely, if he will stande to the decree of the
Church of Rome, and to reuoke his opinion, if not, they
shew him sagottes & fire, sayinge, that with Heretickes
they may not contende with arguments and Scripture,
but with sagottes and fire, and enforce the man not con-
uicted of any obstinacie, nor taught better doctrine, to
denie by othe his opinions againste his conscience, and if
he will not do it, they deliuer him into the handes of the
temporall iudge to be burned, sayinge with the Apostle:
Take awaye mischief from among you, so great in time
past was the gentlenesse of the Church, & the clemencie
of the Bishoppes, as Gratian hath writen in the fourth
distinction of Consecration, that they did not put them
to death whiche fell againe to Iudaisme, nor punished
blasphemers: and Berengarius fallinge againe to abomi-
nable heresie, was not onely not put to death, but also
not deprived of the dignitie of an Archdeacon. But
nowe a dayes he that hath fallen into a very little er-
roure, is condemned more then to death, and sometimes
for euery small offence is by these inquisitours deliuered
to be burned: peraduenture this seuerer punishmet is ne-
cessary and profitable to the Church, so that in the meane
while, brotherly loue faile not, the inquisitours of heresy
are sometime wricked themselves, and may be heretickes,
whiche thinge gaue occasion to Clement to make a newe
decre, inquisitours then ought to dispute againste here-
tikes not by darke arguments, & bradling sillogismes,
but by the worde of God vpon the Catholike faith, and
to conuince an heretike by the holy Scriptures, after-
warde accordinge to the instructions of the Canons, and
the constitutions of the holy counsailes to ende the mat-
ter, and to bring him for whom Inquisition was made to
the

1 Corinth. 25.

the Catholike faith, or to declare him an hereticke: for he is not an hereticke which is not unadvised, nor he ought to be called a maintainer of Heretickes, which defendeth a man boyde of offence, and not condemned of Heresie, & he be not delivered to be rente in peeces before the iudgement seat of corrupt Inquisitors, yea rather of ravening Wolves, and into a dangerous place. And albeit it be expressely provided by the Lawe that the Inquisitors have no power, nor any iurisdiction to procede vpon any suspicion of Heresie, defence, receipt, or sauoure, where & when it is not manifestly knowne, that there is expresse Heresie & evidently condemned, notwithstandinge these bloudthirsting vultures, beynd the priuiledges of the office of Inquisition to them graunted, against the Lawes & Canons do intermedle with iurisdiction of ordinaries, vsurping the authoritie of Bishops vpon such thinges as are not heretical, but onely displeasaunte to godly eares, or sinful, or in some other maner erroneous about Heresie, & do shew most cruel rigour towards the poore women of y^e cuntry, which being accused or appeached of witchcraft, or sorcerie, oftentimes without any lawfull iudgements foreknownen, are by them put to cruel and terrible tormentes, untill that they be enforced to confesse that they neuer thought, they maye haue wherewith to condemne them, and then truly they suppose that they do the partes of Inquisitors, when they cease not from their duty, untill that the sely woman be burned, or hath gilted the Inquisitors hande, wherefore he taketh pity on her, & deliuereth her as sufficiently purged by tormentes: for oftentimes the Inquisitor can change the payne of the body into the punishment of the purse, and apply it to his office of Inquisition, wherof there groweth vnto them no small gaine, and they haue not a few of these sely women that are constrained to pay them a yerely pension, to the ende they maye not be agayne punished. Furthermoze when the goodes of Heretickes be confiscated, the In-

quisitoure

Inquisitione thet he getteth no final paye, and finally the
 high accusation, demonstration, or inspection of the same
 forcer it be to neuer so light, and the citation of the Inquisi-
 tione by ingainfame with it, whose honestie is not in-
 uenied, excepte monie be geuen to the Inquisitione, and yet
 this is some staine. With this I remember whilom
 I was in Italie, manye Inquisitores in the Duchie of
 Milan troubled many moche honeste Patrones, and these
 of the nobleste in the countre, & preyly got muche money
 of the fearfull and affrayed women. At length when the
 receipte was discovered, they were greuously punished,
 and scarcely escaped the bloke and the fire. * I could recti-
 fy you in this place that moche subtil, and more then Sco-
 listicall mention of that famous Blochstrat, and other
 my mates of Colone, used in the Inquisition of the Detours,
 and all that Tragedie of Capnion, and the warre of ten
 peanes, in the whiche all the name, reputation, and do-
 ctine of our Masters of Colone receiued remodelled da-
 mage, if these things were not very wel known to al men,
 and with the triumph of Capnion the Histories were not
 cleare for time to come. * I had in time past, when I was
 Advocate, and Counsellour of the common wealth of Me-
 diomatrix, a very greuous contention with an Inquisi-
 tour, who beinge a wicked man & a poore woman of
 the countre, for certaine vaine, and moche vnjust accusa-
 tions to his bocherie, and to an vnfit place, not so muche
 to examine her as to formente her: when I had taken in
 hand to defende her, and had declared, that in the things
 donne there was no signe or token, that coulde cause her
 to be formented, he stoutly denyinge it sayde, one thinge
 there is whiche is sufficient enough, for her mother was
 in time paste burned for a witch, & now when I replied
 and gaue him to vnderstand that this article was imper-
 tinente, and that it ought also to be refused by the office
 of the iudge for so muche as it was the dede of an other
 alleaging to him reasons & Lawes for the same, sodeinly
 he

he replied againſt me, leaſt he might ſeeme to haue ſpo-
ken indifferently, he pouched a reaſon out of the moſt ſe-
cret places of the mallet of witches, & out of the groundes
of Peripateticke Theologie, ſaying, that this was true be-
cauſe witches were accuſtomed to ſacrifice their children
to the deuil as ſone as they be borne, and alſo becauſe ma-
ny times they were wonte to conſerue by ſpall the ſtraits
formed into the ſhape of a man, whereof it cometh to
paſſe that the naughtineſſe is deepe rooted in this child,
like a diſeaſe, that cometh by inheritance. Then ſayd
vnto him, O wicked father doeſt thou ſtudy diuinitie in
this ſort: doeſt thou with theſe forged deuils draw poore
giltles women to the racke: doeſt thou with theſe deceit-
full ſentences iudge others to be Heretickes; thou thy ſelf
with this opinion being not inferiour to the Heretickes
Faustus and Donatus: be it as thou ſayeſt, doeſt thou not
make the grace of baptiſme vaine: and the Wiſeſſe ſhall
ſay in vaine, departe thou vncleane ſpote, geue place to
the holy ghoſte, if the child for the ſacrilege of the wicked
mother ſhould remaine in the power of the Deuill. And
alſo if thou wilt deſende theſe opinions, (whiche con-
feſſe that the ſpirites, whiche accompanie with women &
engender, certes none of them, that afflicke this, hath at
any time ſo much hated, that he beleued that thoſe deuils
together with the ſtollen ſeene do not part of theſe na-
ture in the creature, but yet I will tel thee (ſayde I) accord-
dinge to our beleefe: that by the proper nature of our hu-
manitie we are all borne of one maſſe of ſinne and euer-
laſtinge curſe, children of perdition, children of the deuil,
children of Gods diſpleaſure, and inheritories of hel: but
thoſe we the grace of baptiſme hath caſt out of vs, &
we are made a new creature in Jeſus Chriſt, from whom
none can be ſeparated but by his owne ſinne, muche leſſe
an others deede can damage him. ſo we thou ſeeſt how
ſufficient this iudgemente is, not grounded vpon Latwe,
boyde of reaſon, and hereticall inuouchinge: the crime is
poorite

perceat at these wordes was very angry, and intreated
that he would proceede against me, as a supporter of he-
retickes: but I ceased not to defende that sely soule, and
finally throughte power of the lawe I deliuered her safe
from the mouth of that Lion, & so that bloudy Poncke
stande ashamed in the presence of al menne, and by reason
of his crueltie for ever infamous, and not onely he but al-
so the vnjuste accusers whiche defamed the woman were
condemned in a great some of money to the chapter of the
Church of Mentz, whose subiectes they were.

Of Scholasticall Diuinitie. Cap. 97.

Lastly it resteth to speake of Diuinitie. But I will let
passe the Diuinitie of the gentils, written in time past
by Muscus, Orpheus, and Hesiodus, the whiche, it is
manifest, that it is altogether poetickall and fabulous: Eu-
sebius, Lactantius and other Christian Doctours haue
ouerthrowen this long sentence with very stronge reasons,
nether will I speake of that of Plato and other Philoso-
phers all which we haue shewed before to be the masters
of errorres. But in this place my communication shalbe
onely of Christian diuinitie: it is certaine that this de-
pendeth vpon nothinge, but the beliefe of the teachers
thereof, for so much as it cannot chaunce vnder any Arte.
But let vs speake firste of Scolasticall Diuinitie, whiche
doctrine was firste made by the Sorbonistes of Paris, with
a certaine mixture of Goddes worde, and Philosophicall
reasons, facioned like two bodyes, as if it were of the
Centaires kinde. Moreouer also it is written with a cer-
taine newe kinde of teachinge contrary to the vse of the
ancientes, by these questions, and subtill Syllogismes
without any eloquence, notwithstandinge otherwise
very full of iudgement, and vnderstanding, the authours
thereof, and they whiche excelled therein, were the Mas-
ter of the sentences, Thomas Aquinas, Albert surnamed
the

the greates, & many other, as Iohn Scot a doctour of subtil
vnderstandinge, but ouermuche enclined to contention.
Hereupon Scholasticall Diuinitie in the end by little and
little was turned to Sophismes, whilest y these deuine
Sophisters of latter time, and Huksters of Gods word,
whiche be not deuines excepte the title be bought, of so
high a Science they haue made a certaine Logomachie,
that is, an vndiscreate altercation, goinge from schole to
schole, mouinge questiones, forging opinions, and wzong
the Scriptures with intricate wordes geuinge them a
contrarie sence, redier craftly to deceiue, then plainly to
trie out the truthe, they haue also presumed to inuente
infinite seede plottes of bzaulinge, with the whiche they
minister matter of contention to the wzanglinge So-
phisters, whilest that they drawe out the formes, whilest
they call the voyces Generals and Specials, whilest some
sticke to the thinges, some to the names, and that whiche
they take from one, they ascribe to an other, some take
this indifferentlye, and euery one endeuoureth to finde
somethinge, wherewith to confirme his Heresie. And in
this manner (whiche Thomas Aquinas doth also lament)
to laugh at and mistruste that inuiolated faithe of oures
amonge the wise men of this worlde, whilest that they
regarde not the Canonickall Scripture of the holy Ghost,
they haue piked out very many apte questions to dispute
vpon diuinitie, in the whiche they exercisinge theire wit,
and consuminge theire time haue placed all the doctrine
of diuinitie in them alone, against which if any wil resist
with the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, fourth with
he shall here saie: the letter killeth, it is deadly, it is vn-
profitable, but they will saie that we ought to search out
that whiche lieth hidden in the letter, afterwarde they
hauinge recourse to interpretinge, to expoundinge, to glos-
singe, and to sillogisinge, do rather geue it some other
sence, then the proper meaninge of the letter, if thou in-
stantly require an aunswere, and be earnest vpon them,

Ex they

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they will geue euill language and call thee Aste, as one which vnderstandeth not that which is hidde in the letter: but as a Serpente feedeth on the earthe alone: so that there is none amongest them accounted for deuines, but suche as can brawle apace, and dispute againste euery matter proposed, readly to inuent, and find out new vnderstandings, and to make so greate a noyse with monstrous wordes, that not for the hardnes of the matter, but for the straungnes of wordes they be vnderstode of no man. And than these be called subtile, angelike, seraphike and deuine doctoures, when they haue handled the matter so, that they cannot be perceiued, then the multitude of the auditours, rushe aboute them, whiche beleue whatsoeuer they haue spoken, is set from the most hidde mysteries of diuinitie: and sweare to folowe the wordes of theire maister, and beleue that it is impossible to knowe that, whiche they knowe not, and are in suche wise entangled in the opinions thereof, that they cannot be conuincd by any contrary reasons, nor content themselves with any Scripture, but like Anteus doe endenour to renew theire strength, in the bosome of their mother, where they were begoten, and demaunde succoure of theire doctoures,

Than hastneth faste the rauen to her younge
Forsakinge courtinge steede, and cruel hownde
And of the carkeise parte to them shee brings.

This therefore is the foode of rauen olde

VVherwith when nest she builds, she feedes her self.
Hereof it is come passe, that the highe science of schole diuinitie is not free from erreure and naughtinesse, so many sectes, so many Heresies haue y wicked hipocrites, & hare bzayned Sophisters brought bp: whiche, as Paule saith, preache Christe not for good wil, but for contentio, so that there is sower founde con corde amonge Philosphers then amonge deuines, which with the opinions of men, and fresh errours haue abolished al the glozie of ancient

ciente, and professinge with coloured titles a detestable
 doctrine with diuers manners of expoundinge, as it
 were deuised Laberinthes, doo againste righte and reason
 take vpon them the name of holy diuinitie by theste and
 robberie, and abusing the names and ordinaunces of holy
 doctours haue raised vp sectes, as in time past it was sayd
 in the Church: I holde with Apollo, I with Paule, and I
 with Cephas, pretending their studies, by whose meanes
 they haue ben trayned vp in learninge and swearinge to
 obserue theire masters traditions do dispise all other, not
 consideringe what is sayde; but who sayeth it. * For this
 cause no deuine can now be truely called learned, but
 he whiche hath swozne to that secte, and holding it faste
 with his teeth doth not skily defend it, and in euery place
 maketh a shewe, and hath in his mouthe the name & signe
 thereof, and vaunteth to be saluted, and preferred with
 the title thereof, as Thomist, Albertist, Scotist, and Occa-
 nist. For it is not honest that a pure Christian shoulde be
 called with so many names, for so much as that surname
 maye be common with them to Bowchers, Cookes, Ba-
 kers, Tailours, Barbers, Matchemen, to sowle suttes
 also, and to all the ignoraunt sorte. * Furthermoze these
 folowers are deuised into many partes emonge them-
 selues, for some of them, whiche haue a profounde wit,
 and will seeme better learned then the Prophetes, and
 Apostles, presume also that they are able with theire
 Syllogismes to finde out, and declare suche thinges as
 are beleued by faith alone, and with vaine questions thei
 reason of deuine thinges: and with monstrous boldnes
 they contende, oftentimes with diuers absurde opi-
 nions, as when they distinguish the deuine Essence from
 the Relatiues, some in dedde, others onely in reason, some
 facion and make infinite Realtees (as they saye) like the
 Idees of Plato: others againe denye them, and laughe at
 them, mozeouer then this they inuent so many monsters
 of God, so many diuers formes of the diuinitie, so many

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* Idoles of their fantasies, and thoughtes of the heauenly
thinges, and with the crokednesse of theire opinions they
rente our Sauoure Chyste in pecces, and attire him in
diuers maskeries of sophismes, and with theire folishe
suppositions do facion and vnfacio him vnto what forme
they liste, as it were an image of ware, so that there do-
ctrine seemeth to be nothinge els but mere idolatrie. * I
speak not of other theire Heresies, and controuersies
aboute the Sacramentes, Purgatorie, Soueraintie, the
Popes commaundementes, and theire obligations, in-
dulgences, Antichriste to come, and many other like in
whiche they declare theire folish wisdom, and with the
presumptio therof swollen and puffed vp with pride like
the Giautes whiche are mencioned in fables, heapinge
vp questions vpon questions, and argumentes vpon ar-
gumentes, pronouncing theire sentences against God:
vpon whose wickednes the wrath of God will descende
from heaue. * The others, which reach not so high, make
hystories of Saints, choping in some lie vnder the colour
of godlines, they bring false relikes, they forge miracles,
and feigne such things as they terme examples, pleasant
or fearefull fables, they number prayers, they weigh me-
rites, they measure ceremonies, they sel indulgences, they
distribute pardons, they sel their good woorkes, & deuoure
the sinnes of the people thoro we begginge. And as it
were with a certaine lawe they tell of appearaunces, of
conjuracions, and of the aunswares of deade, and out of
the bookes of Tundall, or of Brandarius, or of Patricius,
taught in a denne vnder the earthe they playe tragedies
of purgatorie, and comedies of indulgences, in the pul-
pit as it were in a stage, & transforming themselves with
so warrelike a boldnesse, with so Thrafonicke a boasting,
with so arrogaunt lookes, with a chaunged countenance,
with stretched armes, with many kindes of gesture: as
the Poetes describe Protheus, with vaine wordes and
with the voyce of Stentor, they thunder to the people.

But

But the moſte ambitious emonge them are they whiche attribute to themſelues the oznamente of ſchole doctrine & Eloquence, theſe in cryinge (in declaiminge I thought to ſaie) ſinge poemēs, tell Hiſtozies, reaſon opinions: they cite Homer, Vergill, Iuuenal, Perſius, Titus Liuius, Strabo, Varro, Seneca, Cicero, Ariſtotle, and Plato. And in ſteede of the Goſple and the worde of God, they ſpeake mere trifles, and wordes of men, preaching a newe Goſpel, counterfeitinge the worde of God: whiche they ſet ſwꝛth not for loue, but for gaine, and monie. Liuinge not after the truth of the worde, but accoꝛdinge to the pleaſure of the fleſhe, and when in the daie time with diuerſe erroures they haue ſpoken in the pulpitte of vertue the nighte after in priuie places they become Venus ſouldiers. And this is their waie, thoꝛowe whiche they go to Chriſte. Finally when vices are to be reprovēd, it is a wonder to ſee them with what ſclaunder of tounge they chaſe, with what insolencie of geſture they rage, with what filthineſſe of ſpeache they barke, with what vnſhamefaſtneſſe of voice they exclaime, as if Chriſte woulde not haue the trumpetoures of his worde to be fiſhers drawinge on the righte ſide with a gentle nette, but Archers and cruell Hunters perſecutinge on the leſte ſide: And alſo as they are not men, & ſubiect to theſe vices or greater whiche they reprove, or at any time haue benne, or yet maie be made ſubiect, ſo theſe fiſhers of men, whole tounge is in ſteede of a nette, y thei maie drawe the wicked to ſaluation, they are become alſo hunters of good men to damnation: theire mouth is as it were a bowe of leeſinge, and their tongue is a wounding arrowe. * But this ſufficeth whiche is alreadie ſpoken, for it is daungerous to reprehensive the with too bolde a manner of talke: becauſe they be wonte, as often as they be angred, to conſpire togeather, to bring them in iudgement befoze their Inquiſitours, which reprove them, and conſtraine them to ſaie the contrarie, ſometime to chaſten them with fire

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and fagotte, or priuely with poison to take him out of the worlde: for this they haue amonge the secreete misteries of Religion: if there be any that to their Religion breedeth sclaunder, which is lawfull & honest, geuing him poison in secreete, they bereue him of life, to the end that the order shoulde not be defamed, when publikely he were punished. * But leauinge to speake of this let vs now passe to the true diuinitie: and this also is deuided in two partes: for the one is Propheticall, the other Interpretatiue. We will firste speake of the laste.

Of Diuinitie Interpretatiue. Cap. 98.

The Diuines interpretatiue suppose, that as thorow the bountie of nature, Grapes, Oliues, Corne, Hempe, and many suche like growe & are ripened, of whiche finally with the witte and ayde of men, wine, oyle, breade, cloth, and so the other workes of nature are complete and perfourmed. Semblably also the worde of God very obscure and hidden is geuen to be expounded with our interpretations, not by our forces and inuentions, as if the worde of God, like y^e workes of nature had neede of our helpe, but by y^e self same holy spirit of these holy Scriptures: who distributeth his giftes to euery mā accordinge as he listeth, and where he will, making some Prophetes, some interpreters of Prophetes. This Diuinitie than of interpretinge heauenly thinges, dothe not procéde after the manner of the Peripatetickes, by defining, or deuiding or cōpounding, for none of these waies belongeth vnto God: for so much as he cannot be defined, deuided, or compounded: but there is an other waie to know him, whiche is in the middle betwene this and the propheticall vision, whiche is an equalitie of the truthe with our purged vnderstanding, as the keye is with the locke, whiche as it is most desirous of all truthe, so is it apte to receaue al intelligible thinges, and therefore it is termed

termed the possible vnderstanding with which although we doe not thoroughly vnderstand such things as the Prophets write, and as they which haue seene the secretes of God, yet the gate is opened vnto vs, that by the conformance of the truth perceaued, to our vnderstandinge, and by the lighte, whiche lightneth vs out of the opened entrailes, we are much more certaine then we should be by the apparaunt demonstrations, diffinitions, diuisions, & compositions of Philosophers, and it is graunted vs to reade, and vnderstande not with our eies and outwarde eares, but to perceauie with better senses, and the vail take awaie and y face vncouered to receaue in truth from the marowe of the holy Scriptures, which they haue written vnder coueringes, that with perfect eyes haue beheld it, which was hidden from the wise men of this worlde, and from philosophicall knowledges, and wee set holde on that with so greate a iudgemente of certaintie, that al doubte is laide aside. And for so muche as this truthe lieth manifolde hidden in the holy Scripture, for this cause the holy and spirituall menne haue made diuers and sundrie expositions of the holy Scripture: for some goinge a softe pace vpo the barke of the letter, bringinge the Scriptures to agrément, & expoundinge one worde for an other, wrestinge some sense by y order of wordes, by Etymologies, by proprieties & significations of wordes and other like thinges, doe searche out the truthe of the Scripture, whiche therefore they call the literall exposition. Some other referre what thinges soeuer are written to the busines of the soule, & to the workes of iustice, the exposition of whiche for that cause is called morall. Some by diuers tropes or figures tourne it to secretes of the Church, the sense of which is called Tropologicall. Some geuen to the contemplation of heauenly life, referre all thinges to the mysteries of Goddes glorie, and this exposition they call Anagogicall. And these be the foure expositiōs of the Deuines exercised in the Church, besides

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beside whiche there are yet two other, the one of whiche
referringe al thinges to the change of times, alteration
of kingdomes, & to the restitutions of times, is for that
called Typica, whersin excelled Cyrillus, Methodius, and
the Abbot Ioachim, and of them of our time Hyerome Sa-
uanarola of Ferrara. The other searcheth out in the holy
Scripture, the powers and vertues of the vniuersall and
sensible worlde, of all nature, and of the frame of the
worlde, which exposition they thereof cal Phisicall or Na-
tural, in this excelled Rabbi Symeon, Ben Ioachim, which
wrote vpon Leuiticus a very large volume, wherein wel
neare discussinge the natures of all thinges, he sheweth
howe Moyses accoꝝdinge to the agrément of the triple
worlde, and the nature of thinges ordained the Arke,
the Tabernacle, the Vessels, the Vestures, the Rites, the
Ceremonies, & the other Mysteries to appease God, & the
heauēly powers, & hath ordained mā to declare y^e likenes
of these thinges, & many Cabalistes folowe this opinion,
y^e is to saie, they which entreate of Bresith, that is to saie,
of thinges created. For they whiche reasoninge of Mer-
cana, that is, of the iudgement seate of God, by figures,
by reuolutions, by Symbolike reasons do referre all
thinges to the principall him selfe, these searche out the
Anagogicall sense. These then are the fire moste famous
senses of the holy Scripture, the Authours of which, the
Expositours, and all the Interpretours, with a common
name be called Diuines. Of this sorte emongst vs were
Dyonisius, Origines, Policarpus, Eusebius, Tertullian, Ire-
næus, Nazianzenus, Chrysostome, Athanasius, Basile, Da-
mascen, Lactantius, Cyprian, Hierome, Augustine, Am-
brose, Gregorie, Ruffine, Leo, Cassiane, Barnard, Anselme,
and many other holy Fathers, which were in time paste,
and also some other of latter yeares, as Thomas, Albert,
Bonauentura, Egidius, Henry of Gaunte, Gerson, & many
other: * but farre inferiour to the auncientes. * Pot-
withstanding all the interpretinge Denines, for somuch
as

as they are men, they also suffer humaine things, in one place they erre, in an other they write contraries and repugnances, oftentimes they disagree from themselves, in many thinges, they go besides the marke, and every man seeth not all thinges. For the holy Ghost alone hath the full knowledge of heavenly thinges, which distributeth to every man after a certaine measure, reservinge many thinges to him selfe, that alwaies he maie have vs his schollers. For we all (as Paule saith) knowe not noz Prophecie but in parte. All this interpretinge Divinitie then consisteth in the libertie of the spirite, and is a certaine wisdome separte from the Scripture, in the which it is graunted every man to abounde accordinge to his sense, by those manifolde expositions, which we have recited, whiche Paule in one worde termeth misteries, or speeches of misteries, where he saith: The spirite speaketh misteries. Wherefore Dyonisius calleth this Misti-call and Significatiue Deninitie, entreated of by these holy doctours in great volumes, * but sometimes not with-
* out many errours. * Neither doe you beleue them in all thinges, for many of them haue persevered in many erroneous opinions touching Faith, which haue bene reproved by the Church for Hereticall. As it is manifeste of Papia Bishop of Hieropolis, of Victorinus of Poitiers, of Hierencus of Lions, of Sainte Cypriane, of Origen, of Tertullian, & many other, whom it is manifestly knowne that they erred in faith, and their opinions condemned for Hereticall, although they be canonised for Saintes. Here notwithstandinge it is needefull to haue a higher spirite to iudge and decerne, whiche is not geuen vs by men, noz by flesh and bloude, but is geuen from aboue by the father of light, for none without his light can truly speake any godly thinge. And this light is Gods worde, by y which all thinges are made, geuing light to every mā that cometh into this worlde, & geuing them power to be made the sonnes of God: to all them I speake that haue

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receaued and beleued in him. Neither is there any that can declare those thinges whiche belonge to God, but his owne worde, for who els hath knowen the Lordes meaning: or who els is made his counsailloure, but the sonne of God, the worde of the Father: Hereof we wil speake, but first we will entreate of Propheticall Diuinitée.

Of Propheticall Diuinitée. Cap. 99.

Euen as prophecie is the speache of the Prophetes, so Diuinitée is nothing els but the traditiō of Diuines, that is to saie, of them that speake with God: for euerie one that shall remember any prophecie, or els interpret it, he is not forthwith a Prophete, but he, that in heavenly thinges with the knowledg of godlinesse is endewd with vertue, and holines, which speaketh with God, and on his lawe both thinke daie, and nighte: for in this wise Iohn the authoure of the Apocalips, in the letters of Dionysius was named Theologus, that is, a deuine, that is to saie, of his talking with God: to whome the truthe saith: he that hēreth you, hēreth me: & he that despiseth you, despiseth me: which word was not spoken to our Masters, not to the cōtentious Theosophistes, not to the sellers of indulgences, but to the true Deuines, to the Apostles, to the Euangelistes, and to the messengers of Gods worde, which saie: I dare not speake any thing, which Christe dothe not through me. The holy doctrines then of these diuines, of faith, and pietée, are Diuinitée. To theire wordes and writings credite is geuen, as to thinges grounded not vpon the contentions of syllogismes or opinions of menne, but vpon sounde doctrine (as Paule saith) inspired from aboue: not after the manner of the Philosophers gotten by diuidinge, defininge, cōpoundinge, nor contemplatinge, but with a certaine essential touching of diuinitée, comprehended by a cleare vision in the heavenly lighte: of which vision we finde very many kindes

kindes in the holy Scripture, according to the diuers dispositions of the Prophetes in receauinge, for we reade of some that saw God or the Angels in the forme of a man, others in the likenesse of fire, others in the likenes of the aire and the winde, others in the likenesse of a riuer and of water, others in the likenesse of birdes, others in the likenesse of pretious stoness & mettals, others in the likenesse of letters and carracters, or of a hande that writeth, others in the sounde of a voice, others in dreames, others in a certaine spirite abidinge within them, others in the efficacie of vnderstanding, wherefore the holy Scripture termeth al the Prophetes, seinge. So we reade: the sight or vision of Isaie, the vision of Ieremie, the vision of Ezechuell, and of others. And in the newe lawe Iohn saith: I was in spirite at that daie of the Lorde, in the whiche I beinge carried saue the throne of God. And Paule witnesseth that he saue such thinges as are not lawfull for a man to speake: and this sighte or beholdinge of many is called a rauishinge, or a traunce, or a spirituall death: for then there is a certaine seperation of the soule from the bodie, but not of the bodie from the soule. Of this death it is saide: man shall not see God and shall liue: And in another place: In the Lordes sighte the death of his saintes is pretious. And yet it is moze plainely expresseed by the Apostle, where he saith ye be deade, & your life is hidden with Christe, he then must die this death that desireth to enter into the holy places of propheticall Diuinitie. And the beholdinge of this heauenly vision is of two sortes: the one, with the which God is scene face to face, and then the Prophetes see (as Paule saith) such thinges as are not lawfull for a man to speake, & such thinges as the tongue of men and Angels is not able to expresse, nor penne to write. For it is a certaine touching and vnion of the diuine substance, and a beautifyinge of the pure and seperated vnderstandinge without any image or semblance, and therefore the diuines interprete this a Meridional vision,

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vision, as Augustine vpon Genesis, and Origen against Celsus, do largely discourse of these thinges: An other vision there is wherein the hinder partes of God be seene: that is to saie, when with cleare sighte the creatures be perceaued, whiche be the hinder partes & effectes of God, by the knowledge of whiche the creatoure shaper of all thinges, and the firste cause which maketh all thinges is knownen, as the wise man saith: by the greatnes of the image and the creature, the Creatour of them maie be knownen. And Paule of the same saith: the inuisible thinges of God are vnderstande made by them whiche haue bene made: mozeouer the Peripateticke haue in vse a certaine manner of speakinge, that they whiche argue from the effectes to the causes, are saide to reason a posteriori, that is, of the latter. Moses had bothe these visions, the holy Scriptures witnessing the same, for of the first we reade that Moses sawe the Lorde face to face: of the other we reade that God saide vnto him: Thou shalt see my hinder partes, and accordinge to this seconde vision Moses made the Lawe, and appointed sacrifices & ceremonies, and erected an Arke, and in them he comprehended other mysteries, & al the secretes of the workes of God and nature, after the moste diligent example of the whole vniuersall: and this vision also is deuided in two partes: for either it beholdeth the creatures in God himselte, and is called of the diuines the moynnyng vision, or seeth God in his creatures, and is called the nighte vision: There is mozeouer an other certaine prophetical vision, that is to saie, that whiche chaunceth in dreames, as we reade in Mathewe, that the Angel appeared to Ioseph in his sleepe: & in an other place, that the wise men were admonished in theire sleepe when they had worshipped Christe that they should retourne into theire countrie an other wale. There are also in the old Testament many examles thereof: & finally Iob declareth what manner of vision this is, where he saith: In the feare of y night vision, when sleepe falleth

falleth vpon men, & that they be in bed, then openeth he their eares, and teaching, instructeth them with doctrine. And this as the fourth kind of visions is called the night vision. There are yet two other kindes of propheticie, one, whiche is receiued with expresse wordes, in which kinde Moses in the mounte Syna, Abraham, Iacob, Samuel, and many other Prophets of the old Testament, were made famous and instructed: in the new law the Apostles, and al the Disciples of Christe, were taught with a true and liuely voice by Christe. An other kinde of Propheticie happeneth thorow the mouing of the spirit, that is, when the soule is attached by some diuine power, to him then linked, & seuered from the liuinge man, and is replenished by him with wisdom and knowledge, beyonde all mans wit and strength, whiche attachement of the soule or inspiration, proceedeth not onely from an angelike power, but oftentimes also from the spirite of the Lorde, as it is read of Saul, that the spirit of the Lorde entred into him, and prophesied, and was chaunged into an other man, & reckoned emonge the Prophetes. And in the Actes of the Apostles the holy Ghoste entred into the baptized in a flame of fire, and this spirite oftentimes also rauished me subiecte to sinne, and many Poetes of the gentiles, as Cassandra, Helenus, Calchas, Amphiarus, Tiresia, Mopsus, Amphilocheus, Polybius of Corinth, In like maner Galanus the Indian, Socrates, Diotima, Anaximander, Epimenides of Crete. Semblably, the wise men of the Persians, the Brachmanni of Asia, & Gymnosophistes of the Ethiopians, the Prophets of Memphis, & Druides of the Frenchmen, and the Sybilles were replenished with this spirite. Before whiche propheticall attachement of the spirit there oftentimes go certaine ceremonies, and also to execute & authoritie of ones duty, & the communion of holy thinges do helpe very much: as the Scripture doth geue example of Balam, & in an other place of the application of Ephod: and the Euangeliste witnesseth of Caiphaz, that he prophesied,

By ij. phesied,

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phesied, when he was Bishop of that yeare. And hereof also y^e Meeubales of the Hebrewes haue presumed to write of the skilfulnesse howe to prophetic. I passe ouer those thinges whiche the diuines with deepe contemplation of the vnderstandinge do intreate of the xxxij. pathes, and those whiche Augustine toucheth of degrees, Albert of the receipts of formes, of the which he sheweth seven kindes in sleepe, and so many apperaunces in watche. Of whiche this one thing we will admonish you to be considered: that not alwayes the diuine powers come outwardlye to be seene of the Prophetes, or to speake with them, but very oftentimes those thinges are caused inwardly, that is to say, when the minde of the Prophete doth receiue the diuine light: the shining wherof dispersed with his beames thoroowe the middest of all thinges, euen vnto this grosse body, doth make the very senses partakers of his felicitie, and passinge inwardly from the vnderstanding thoroowe the reason and imagination, & vniuersally thoroowe the whole soule, euen vnto the instrumentes of the senses doth in them lye couered, as the night or light, or vision, or talke that moueth euery sense with his own condicio: and that truly hath chaunced to many Prophets, to some in their watche, to some in their sleepe. So wee reade in Plato and Proculus of Socrates, whiche saye that he was not onely inspired by intelligible influence, but also by voyce and communication: notwithstandinge these thinges chaunce soner in dreames: but of this we haue sufficiently spokē. It is moze then time that we retourne to our purpose. Propheticall diuinitie therefore is that which by the inspiration of the light teacheth the stedfast worde of God: but the authoritie and argumentes with which his truth is established, are not the decrees of men, not the vse of longe time not the fained deuises of wise men, not the princely ordinaunces of sectes, not Syllogismes, not Euthymemes, not Inductions: not Obligations, not insoluble consequences, but diuine oracles agreeing to

together receiued in the vniuersal Church by one whole and stable consente, confirmed with miracles, monstres, wonders, and with all kinde of holinesse and daunger of life, and with the testimonie of the bloude shedde for vs. We haue Moises, Iob, Dauid, Salomon, and many other Canonical writers & Prophetes of the olde Testamente, Doctours of this propheticall diuinitie. The Doctours of the newe Testamente be the Apostles, and Euangelistes, & although al these were replenished with y^e holy Ghoste, notwithstandinge all did in some place swarue from the truth, and in that they were liers, they made no lye wittingly nor craftly, for to saie, this, is a moste damnable Heresie, and greater, and moze dangerous then the Heresies of Arrius and Sabellicus, turninge vpset downe the authoritie of al the Canonically Scripture: notwithstandinge in this so greate an erreure in time past was that greate, and holy Ierome, disputinge against Augustine of the reproche of Peter: for Ierome said y^e Paule lied craftely, which if it would haue ben graunted, & such a lye shoulde haue bene admitted in the holy Scripture, incontinently (as Augustine saith) al the certaintie of y^e holy Scriptures shoulde faile. Vnto whome Ierome acknowledginge the erreure and perceiuinge the truthe, after many contradictions, and defenses of his erreure yelded in the ende, that then whiche I saie, that y^e holy writers haue in some place after a certaine sorte ben liers, I wil y^e it be vnderstoode, not y^e they haue willingly erred, but y^e either like men they haue ben deceiued, or chaunging y^e will of God haue reuolted. So Moses failed, who promised the people of Israel to bringe them out of Egypte, & to leade the into y^e lande of promise, & truely he brought the out of Egypt, but to the lande of promise he brought them not. Ionas failed foretelling y^e Ninuites there destruction within the space of xl. daies, which notwithstanding was deferred. Helias failed foretelling the miseries that should happen in y^e daies of Achab, which also were prolonged vntil the death of Achab. Isay failed foretelling Ezechias that he shoulde

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Should die the day following, whose death was prolonged
fiftene yerres after. Likewise many other prophetes haue
failed, and al theire prophecies are some taken awaye, or
suspended. The Apostles also and the Euangelistes haue
failed, Peter failed when he was reprobued by Paule. Ma-
thewe erred whē he wrote that Chyist was not yet dead,
when the speare opened his side. But this defecte or fay-
linge is not the defecte of the holy Ghost, but either of the
Prophete, not well perceiuinge what the spirite telleth
him, or by vision sheweth him, or by some alteration made
in those thinges of which he propheted, whereof it com-
meth to passe, that the sentence of the oracle is either al-
tered or deferred. Hereof it commeth to passe, that all the
Prophetes and wryters in some thinges appeare lyers,
accoordinge to the Scripture that saithe: euery man is a
liar. But Chyiste alone God and man was neuer founde,
nor shalbe founde a liar, neither shal his wordes be chaū-
ged, or faile, who onely is without lie and errour, he hath
neuer vttered vaine oracles, as he hath said: Heauen and
earth shal perishe but my wordes shal not perishe: and be-
cause all truthe commeth thowowe the holy Ghost, Chyist
alone both assuredly possesse this holy spirite, and shal not
departe from him, but rest in him. It is not so of others:
for the spirite came vpon Moises, but in the striking of the
rocke he was taken away. He came vpon Aron, but in the
sinne of the calfe he departed. He came vpon Anne theire
sister, but in the murmuringe against Moises, he left her.
He came vpon Saul, Dauid, Salomon, Isay, & others, but he
continued not in them. Neither be the Prophets alwaies
Prophets: nor alwaies see, nor alwaies forgetel, nor a cōti-
nual habit is prophecie, but a gift, a passion, & a spirit that
passeth, & seing there is none, which doth not offede, there
is none from whom the spirite doth not depart, or at the
lesse wise forsaketh him for a time, sauing from the onely
sonne of God Iesus Chyiste, of whome therefore it was
sayde in Iohn: Upon whome thou shalte see the spirite des-
cende,

cende, and abide in him, this is the Sonne of God, which Baptiseth in the holy Ghost, and can likewise communicate him to others. Wherefore (as Simonides saith) God alone hath this honour, that he is supernatural, and so we may truly say: Christe alone hath this honour, that he is a diuine, notwithstandinge let no man thinke that the Scriptures of the olde Testament, after that the Gospel by them was brought to light with the diuine birthe of Christe, are for this cause feeble and deade, for they alwayes liue in great authoritie, by them the Apostles proued theire doctrines, and without theire testimonie haue spoken nothing: Christ sendeth vs to search them, whose Gospel doth not vndoe these Scriptures, but hath fulfilled them euen to the leaste iote and point. But hereof we will more largely discourse beneth. This moreouer is also to be considered, that the holy Scripture it selfe doth want in many volumes, whiche easely by it selfe is perceived. For Moises citeth the booke of the warres of the Lorde: & Iosua, the booke of the iuste: Hester, the booke of the thinges worthe of memorie, the booke of the Machabees alleageth the holy booke of the Spartiates, & Paralippomenon maketh mention of the booke of the lamentations, the booke of the vision of Samuel, the booke of Nathan, of Gad, of Semcia, of Haddo, of Ahia Silonites, and of Iesus y^e Sonne of Hammon Prophets. Iudas alleageth in his Canonickall Epistle the booke of Henoch. The booke of Abraham the Patriarcke is cited of menne worthe of credite, all which haue perished and are founde nowhere. And moreouer all they whiche be reade at this daye are not indifferently approued. For Dionysius alleageth the Gospel of Bartholomewe, and Ierome maketh mention of the Gospel of the Nazarites, as Luke in the p^reface of the Gospel saith that many haue taken in hande to write the Gospel, al whose booke are losse, and are not to be found againe, and many of them, because they haue ben corrupted by Heretickes, or els published without the title of a

certaine authoure, haue not ben receiued by the fathers, nor approued by y^e Church. In the meane season I speake nothinge of the false Prophetes, whiche haue crepte in, prophesyng for vaine glories sake those thinges which the holy Ghoste hath not taught them, but certaine lyes, not herde of whiche are not after the truthe of the Scripture, they bzing in sectes not for the vnitie of the spirit, nor for the peace of the Church, and making themselves as it were the counsellours of God thoroowe a rashe presumption, dreade not to take the Lordes Testamente in theire mouthe, and to write propheties, and Gospels, all which are either hereticall or not bled opely in y^e Church, nor put into the holy Canon, as it is manifeste of the Canons of the Apostles. But the songes of Salomon were not put into the holy Canon of the Hebrewes, befoze they were corrected and approued by the Prophetes Isaye. And thus by these thinges it is easily perceiued, that the true diuinitie, that is to wit, the holy Scripture is founde de- priued of many volumes, and after a sort vnperfecte, and very fewe of many remaine true and certaine, whiche as booke of life do make by the holy Canon.

Of the VVoorde of God. Cap. 100.

Behold ye haue nowe harde howe doubtfull, howe double, howe vncertaine, howe ful of daunger al do-ctrines are, that asmuche as is in them wee are constrained to be ignorant, where the truth resteth, yea in diuinitie, excepte there be one whiche hath the keye of knowledge and discretion (for the armarie of the truthe is locked, and hidden vnder diuers misteries, and shut vp also from the wise & holy men) by the which we might enter into such a great, and incomprehensible treasure. And this onely keye is nothing els, then the Word of God, this alone decerneth euery signification and kinde of wordes, & what communication proceedeth from y^e Arte
of

of Sophistrie, which doth not shewe the truthe, but a certaine image therof: and iudgeth what talke possesseth the truthe not in apparaunce and counterfeit coloure, but in effecte and reason, therein euery Arte of deceit and lyes is surmounted, neither arguementes, nor sillogismes, nor any subtilties, of Sophismes can stande againste it. He y deliteth not his minde therewith, or disagreeth from it, he as Paule saith is proude and knoweth nothing: Wherefore it behoueth vs to trie by the Worde of God all the disciplines, and opinions of sciences, as golde is tried by the touche stone, and in all thinges to flie thither as to a moste stiffe rocke, & out of that alone to seeke for the truth of all thinges, and to iudge of all doctrine, of the opinions and expositions of al men, * and that we reade not by the doctrines, by the gloses, by the expositiōs, or by other sayings of men, although they be most holy and beste learned, the I meane which speake either without or against the authoritē of Gods Worde, * For as Gregorie saith, whatsoeuer hath not authoritē from thence, is as easly confuted as proued, but no schole of Philosophers, nor the scholes of any schollers haue taught vs the knowledge of this worde, but God alone and Iesus Christ thow the holy Ghost in these Scriptures which are called Canon, to the whiche accoꝝdinge to Gods commaundemente nothing may be added nor taken away. For whosoener shal do it although he were an Angel of heauen, he is abandoned to the Deuill, and accursed by the Lawe of God. So great is y maiestie, so great is y power of this Scripture, that it alloweth no straunge expositions, no gloses of men nor Angels: neither suffereth it selfe to be bowed to the opinions of mens wittes as if it were of ware, nor after the maner of mens fables suffereth it selfe to be transfoꝝmed or chaūged into diuers senses as it were some Poetical Proteus, but sufficiente of it selfe, doth expounde and interprete it selfe, and iudging al men of none is iudged. For the authoritē therof is greater (as Augustine saith)

then all the insight of mans wit: for it hath one constant, plaine and holy meaninge, in which alone the truth doth consist, & in which it fighteth & vanquisheth. But other Moral, Mystical, Cosmological, Typical, Anagogical, Tropological, & Allegorical meaninges which are without this, with which many doe depainte it with sundrie & straunge coloures, can rightly, and truly teache vs some things, and perswade also to the edification of the people, but they cannot proue any thinge or repugne or reproue to establishe the authoritie of the Worde of God. For let one bringe in controuersie of these senses, let him also cite what substantiall authour soeuer he liste therupō, let him alleage an interpretour, let him cite a glosse, let him alledge the exposition of all the holy Fathers, all these thinges doth not so binde vs, but that we maye saye the contrarie. But of the letter of y^e Scripture: of the draught and order thereof, bondes are made, which noman can breake, noman can escape: but that dashinge and dissoluinge all the force of argumentes, dothe enforce him to say and cōfesse, that it is the finger of God, that man neuer spake in this manner, y^e he speaketh not as y^e Scribes and Phariseis do, but as one that hath power. But the authoures thereof inspired from aboue haue with moste holesome authoritie made vs a Canon, the magnificence whereof is such, that we oughte to beleue all thinges that are therein, and whatsoeuer he hath pronounced and taught, this without any retraction is holden sure and holy. As Augustine hath sayde hercof, that he gaue this onely honoure to those booke, which be called Canonically, that he moste constantly beleueth that none of the writers of them haue erred. But that to the other he will not geue credit, how much doctrine & holines so euer they haue in the, except it be proued with euident reason out of Gods worde, that it is not unlike to be true. Unto these Christ sendeth vs teaching y^e we should search the Scriptures. The Apostle comaundeth vs to proue al things by them,

them, and to keepe the good, and to proue the spirites also, whether they be of God, and in them to be able to render an accompte of all thinges, & to reprove the gainesayers, that in this wise beinge made spirituall we maie iudge all thinges and be iudged of none. But the truth and vnderstandinge of these Scriptures (I meane Canonically) dependeth vpon the onely authoritie of God reuelinge the same, whiche cannot be comprehended by any iudgement of the senses, by any compassing reason, by any syllogisme of demonstration, by any science, by any speculation, by any contemplation, and finally with any force of man, sauinge by the onely faithe of Iesus Christe poured into our soule from God the father by the holy ghost. Which truely is so much the more higher and stable then al the credulitie of mens knowledges, by how much God him selfe is higher and truer then men: but why saie I truer? Saie rather God alone is true, and euery man a liar: then all that whiche cometh not from this truthe, is errour, as that, whiche is not of faithe, is sinne. For God alone hath in him selfe, the fountaine of truth, fro which it is necessarie that he drawe, which desireth the true doctrine: seeinge that any science is not, nor can be had of the secretes of nature, of the seuered substances, nor of God the authoure of them, excepte it be reuealed from aboue. For heauenly thinges are not touched with the strength of men, and naturall thinges at euery instant flee from the inwarde thought, whereof it cometh to passe, that the same which we beleue to be y^e knowledge of these thinges, is falsset and errour, which Isaie doth reprove in the Philosophers and wise men of the Caldees, sayinge to them: Thy wisdome and thy knowledge is that which hath deceaued thee, thou haste failed in the multitude of thy inuentions. The Grammarian is very heedfull that he offende not in his talke, and that he vtter not a rude & barbarous worde, but in the meane space he doth no deale regarde the dishonestie, and the sinnes of his life, sembla-

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blely the Poete had lietter to halte in his life then in his Verse: the Historiographer leaueth in memorie, and putteth in writinge the deedes of Kinges and peoples, and the order of times: but hath no regarde of his owne life: and if he haue, he will not, or he is ashamed to confesse it. The Oratoure abhorreth more the rudenes of speache, then the deformitie of life. The Logitioner had rather to denie a manifest truthe, then to yelde to his aduersarie in one Syllogisticall cōclusion. The Arithmetritians, and the Geometricians number and measure al thinges, but they make no accompte of the numbers and measures of soule and life. The Musicians also entreate of soundes & songes, dispisinge the manners and discordeances of the minde: as Diogenes Synopeus was wonte to reprove them, sayinge, that fitly they made the stringes agree to the Harmonie: but they had the manners of y^e minde discordant and without order. The Astrologers doe behold the heauens and the sterres, & doe prognosticate to others what shall happen in the world: but they doe not consider that which dayly hangeth ouer their heades. The Cosmographers geue notice of Countries, of the fourmes of Mountaines, of the courses of Riuers, of the limites of Regions: but they make a man neuer the better, nor the wiser. The Philosophers with greate awauntinge doe searche out the causes and the beginnings of thinges, but God the Creatour of all thinges they neglect & know not. Among Princes and Magistrates there is no peace, and one for a lighte gaine seeketh an others destruction. The Physicians cure the bodie of the sicke, and neglecte their owne soules. The Lawiers very diligente in the lawes of men, doe transgresse Gods commaundementes: wherefoze it is growen to a Proverbe: Neither the Physician liueth well, nor the Lawier dieth well, because Physicians be the most disordered sorte of men, & the Lawiers be the naughtiest men that liue, and that we dayly see, and one Baldus an expositor of the Lawe a man of great
same

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same amongst them doth witnesse, that oftentimes they
 die sodainly. The Diuines crying out preache vnto vs
 the commaundementes of God and holy doctrine, but in
 their liuinge they differ very farre: and had lieffer seime
 to knowe then loue God: * and verely were it true that *
 many of them also vnder the profession of Diuinitie did
 not defende the doctrine of y^e Deuil, suppressing and con-
 demninge the verities of Gods worde. * He then whiche *
 knoweth al other thinges, to speake and write well, per-
 ceaueth the nature of a Verse, the course of times, the
 waies of reasoninge, the ornaments of speache, the co-
 lours of Rhetoricke, and remembreth many things, the
 proportions and summes of numbers, the harmonie of al
 tunes, and measures of dauncinge, the measures of all
 quantites, the inflexion & reflexion of the sunne beames,
 the situation of the earth and sea, the greatnes of al buil-
 dinges, diuerse workings of ingines, the bickeringe in
 warres, the trimminge of the grounde, the takinge, fee-
 ding and fattinge of beastes, birdes and fishe, and euery
 kinde of countrie trade, euery industrie of handicraftes,
 and artificers, paintinge, or engrauiing, foundinge, ham-
 meringe and helwing, factoringe and sayling, the course
 of the starres, & the influences vpon these inferiour bo-
 dies, the wittie foreshe winges of destinies, and what so-
 euer diuinations there be of thinges hidden and to come,
 the vnpreignable & more then Magicall monsters of the
 Artes Magicke, the secretes of the Cabalistes, & the causes
 of al naturall thinges which are aboue the highest seates
 and natures, the reformation of maners, the diuerse go-
 uermentes of a common weale, houtholde instruction,
 the remedies for diseases, the vertues of medecines, the
 knowledge and the mixtures of them, the delicate dres-
 singes of meates, to alter the kinds of thinges, and out
 of them al to drawe the life of the worlde. Let him know
 also bothe lawes, the tragicall pleadings, of aduocates,
 * the wzangling of the Sorbonistes, the Hipocrisie of the *
 Monkes,

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To knowe all
things without
the woorde of
God, is to know
nothinge.

All tongues
corrupted.

* **Donkes, * and the holy doctrine of holy Fathers, of di-
uine matters, he I saie, which knoweth all these things,
and moze, if there be any remaininge, yet he knoweth
nothinge, excepte he know the will of Gods woorde, and
execute the same: he that hath learned all thinges, & hath
not learned this, he hath learned in vaine, and knoweth
all thinges in vaine. In the woorde of God is the waie,
therin is the rule, therein is the butte or picke, whether
he ought to go that will not go astray, and touche the
truth, all other knowledges are subiecte to time and for-
getfulness, and not onely these sciences and Artes, but
also these letters carracters, and tongues, whiche we
vse, shall perishe, and other shall arise, and peradventure
they haue moze then once bene extinguished, and often-
times haue come to lighte againe. Neither hath there
bene alwaies one manner of Orthographic, nor like with
all men, or in one age, and the true pronuntiation of the
Latine tongue at this daie is founde no where, and the
auncient carracters of the Hebrewes are losse, and there
is no remembrance of them, but they which be vsed now
were founde out by Esdras, & their tonge was corrupted
by the Caldees, the whiche well nere hath hapned to all
tongues, that there is none at this daie which knowled-
geth or vnderstaundeth his antiquitee, newe wordes al-
waies springinge vp, and the olde decayinge, and these
againe restored to theire former vslage: so that there is
nothing stable and of continuance. Finally the sentence
of Terence is, that nothinge is nowe spoken which hath
not bene spoken befoze, and so perhaps nothing is done,
whiche hath not bene done befoze, yea furthermore al for
the moste parte (amonge whiche Volaterrane is) woulde
that the gun, which of the most parte of men is thought a
newe inuention of the Germans, was vsed in olde time:
and this they proue with the Verses of Virgil:**

I did eke *Salmon* see enduringe dire tormenting rappes
VVhilst counterfaieted he the flames of *Ioue* and crash-
inge clappes.

Of

Of heauen highe, on twise two goodly steedes he carried
rode,

And flashinge aie the fire leames, did make nowhere
abode.

But went through *Greece* triumphauntly, and through-
out *Elis* streates,

And cald him selfe a God: O witleffe wighte whiche fla-
minge heates

Of airie fire, and thunder did set fourth in semblaunt
shewe,

VVith brasse & course of fower footed steedes ———

Hath not Ecclesiasticus spoken hereof, when he saith:
what is that which hath bene, that which hath ben made?
what is that whiche hath bene made: that which is to be
made. There is no newe thing vnder the sunne, nor any
man can saie: Beholde this is newe, for it hath bene al-
readie in times paste befoze vs. There is no remembzance of
things past, neither thei which shalbe in y latter date, shal
remember the thinges which shalbe hereafter. And a lit-
tle after he saith: The learned & the ignoraunt also shal
die: what then shal we here saie: but that all Sciences
& Artes are subiecte to death & forgetfulnesse, neither for
euer shal they remaine alieue, but togeather with death
they shal passe to death, forsomuch as Chyste saith: That
euery plante whiche the heauenly father hath not plan-
ted, shalbe rooted out, and caste into euerlasting fire, it is
farre from that science auaileth to immortalitee, but the
worde of God alone abideth for euer. The knowledge
whereof is so naedeful to vs, that he that despiseth it, that
estemeth it not, and that heareth it not (as the woꝛdeit
selfe witnesseth in the holy Scriptures) God will sende
vpon him cursinge, damnation, and euerlastinge iudge-
mente. We ought not then to thinke, that it belongeth
onely to diuines, but to euery one, man & woman, olde
and younge, and all men accoꝛdinge to the grace of capa-
citee geuen to them, are bounde to haue the knowledge
Aaa thereof,

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thereof, and not to differ a strawes breadth from it. For this cause it is commaunded in the old Testament: these wordes shalbe in thy harte all the daies of thy life, and thou shalt tell and commaunde thy childzen & Nephewes to kepe and put them in vze, thou shalt muse vpon them sittinge in thy house, and goinge thorow the streate, sleeping and wakinge, and shalt binde them for a token in thy hande, thei shalbe, and shal moue befoze thy eyes, and shalt write them in the haunce of the doore, and vpon the doores of thy house. So Iosua reade all the wordes, and those thinges whiche were written in the volume of the lawe befoze all the multitude of men, women, childzen, and straungers. And Esdras brought the booke of the law befoze all the multitude of men and women, and therein reade openly in the streate to al them that coulde vnderstande: and Christ commaundeth his Gospel to be preached to euery creature thorow out the whole worlde, and that not in darknesse, not in the eares, not in secrete, not in chambers, not to any Masters and Scribes drawe aside: but openly, in the lighte, vpon houses, to the people, to the multitude: for so saith he to the Apostles: That which I speake to you, I speake to all men, that which I speake to you in darknes, speake you in lighte, and that which I tel you in your eares, preache vpon the houses, and Peter in the Actes saith: He hath charged vs to preache to the people. And Paule commaundeth that childzen should be brought vp in Christes commaundementes, & that moze is Christe blamed his disciples forbidding little childzen to come vnto him, whose simplicitie & humilitie, as they which haue not their minde preuēted with any naughtie opinions, nor swollen vp with any knowledges of men, teacheth it to be so necessarie, to the hirer of Gods worde, that except one become as a childe, he is altogether vnmeet for the kingdome of God. For this cause Chrysostome in a certaine Homelie willet, that children aboue al thinges should be occupied in the holy Scriptures, yea further,

furthermore that at home and privately the husbandes should dispute with their wiues & childzen among themselves of the holy Scripture, and that the one and the other should searche, and geue sentence. And the counsaile of Nice ordained in his Decrees, that no Christian should be without the holy booke of the Bible. Understande ye then that there is nothinge in the holy Scriptures so harde, so profounde, so difficulte, so hidden, so holy which appertaineth not to all them that beleue in Christe: * nor that hath in suche sorte bene committed to these our Masters, that they ought & maie hide it from the Christian people * but rather all diuinitie ought to be common to all beleuers, and to euery one according to the capacitee, and measure of the gifte of the holy ghoſte. Wherefore it is the dutie of a good doctour to distribute to euery man, smuch as he is able to receiue, to one in milke, to an other in stronge meate, and to beguile no man of the swete of necessarie truthe.

Of Masters of Artes. Cap. 101.

Finally that at length I maie come to my self againe, ye haue hearde of those thinges, whiche haue bene hitherto spoken from the beginninge, that Sciences & Artes are nothing els, then traditions of men, approued by vs for the good beleefe towarde them, & that all these do consist of no other thing but of doubtful thinges and opinions, by apparaunt demonstrations: and that all are not so vncertaine as deceiptfull, as also wicked: Wherefore it is altogether wicked to beleue, that they can bring vnto vs any blessednes of diuinitie, in the time past this was the superstition of the Gentiles, which with diuine honours worshipped the inuentours of thinges, & them whiche they saue to surpasse others in any Science or Arte, and placed them in the number of their Gods, dedicatinge to them Churches, Altars, and Images, and

A Proverbe.

worshipping them vnder diuers likenesses. As Vulcane
amonge the Egyptians, whereas he was firste a Philoso-
pher, and referring the beginnings of nature to the fire,
he afterwarde was worshipped for the God of fire: and
Esculapius (as Celsus saith) because he somewhat more
subtly practised Physicke which was yet rude, was for
cause canonised. And this is that edificatiō, and no other,
of sciences: whiche that auncient Serpente the shaper of
such Gods, promised to our first parents, saying to them:
ye shalbe as Gods, knowinge the Good and the euill. In
this Serpente lette him then auauante, that glorieth in
knowledge. For none can possesse knowledge without
the fauoure of the serpente, whose doctrines are nothing
but elusions, and the ende is alwaies naught, as it is al-
so growen to a Proverbe among the people: all wisemen
are madde, whereunto Aristotle accordeth, sayinge: that
there is no greate knowledge without mixture of mad-
nes, and Augustine witnesseth, that many for the desire
of knowledge haue losse their witte, neither is there any
thinge more contrary to Christian faith and religion,
then knowledge: and dw lesse agree togeather. For we
know by the Ecclesiasticall histories, yea taught by expe-
rience, how sciences wente to wracke when the faith of
Christe wared strange, so that the greatest & better parte
of them utterly perished, for those most mightie Artes of
Magicke departed in suche wise, that not the signes of
them remaine, & so many seates of Philosophers, scarcely
one Peripateticke hath remained, & the same not perfect.
Neither did the Church stande in better state, & in more
assured quietnesse, then when all these Sciences were
brought into a weight, when Grammat was not but
vnder Alexander Gallus alone, Logicke in the handes of
Petrus Hispanus, Laurentius Aquilegius sufficed for Rhe-
toricke, a breuiarte of times was sufficient for Histories,
the Ecclesiasticall computation, for the Mathematicall dis-
ciplines, & for all the rest Iudorus alone was sufficient.

U E R

But

But nowe after that the skilfulnes of the tongues, eloquence, and the number of authoures come to their olde state againe, and sciences growe in vse, the quietnes of the Church is troubled, and newe Heresies arise. Neither is there any kinde of menne lesse meete to receaue Christian doctrine, then they whiche haue their minde seasoned with the opinions of Sciences. For they are so stiffe and obstinate in their opinions, that they leaue no place for the holy Ghost, and doe so assure themselves, and truste in their owne strength and proper witte, that they yelde to, nor allowe no truthe: but that whiche they can shew with sillogistical reasons: and they skorne and dispise those thinges, whiche they cannot searche out or vnderstande by their owne strength & industrie. And therefore Christe hath hidden this from the wise and the prudent, & reueleth it to little childzen, that is to say, they which are poore in spirit possessing no treasures of sciences, which are pure in hart, defiled with no opinions of sciences, which are peace makers, not folowers of other men, to the intent to learne, not contentions, nor ouerthrowing the truth with wrangling sillogismes, & which suffer not persecution for truthe and iustice: * whiche are holden for
Asses, and beastes of those contentious Sophisters, which
are drawen thorow the scholes, lifted out of the pulpits,
driven out of their studies, sometimes accused for Hereticks,
and oftentimes threatned danger of life, and
with cruell tormentes sometimes put to death. * So
in time passe was Socrates poisoned in Athens. Ana-
xagoras condemned to die. Diagoras accused of a hap-
pous offence, but he escaped death almoste present with
spedy flight. Amonge the Prophets of the Hebrewes, al-
so, Isaye was cut in peeces, Hieremie stoned to death. Da-
niel condemned to the Lyons, Amos kilde with a clubbe,
Micheas caste downe headlonge from a steepe place, Za-
charie slaine at the Altar, Elias persecuted by Tezabell,
whiche also shew many Prophets: And that holy Pa-

tristake Abraham was caste also into a forname by y Cal-
dees: So the Apostles and disciples of Chryste, and infinit
martires witnesses of Chryste his Diuinitie were kilde
also with diuers tozmentes. And all these were put to
death for no other cause, but that they thought more ho-
lily, then those wise menne of the worlde. Beholde those
whiche in suche wise in pouertie of spirite, in puritie of
hart and in the peace of conscience are younge babes and
humble, ready also to shedde their bloude for the truthe,
these I saye be they to whome alone that true and blessed
wisdomme is geuen, whiche bringeth vs into the fellow-
shippe of the blessed Goddes, and maketh vs like to them.
As Chryste plainly teacheth vs this, saieing: Blessed are
the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingedome of heauen:
blessed are the cleane in hart, for they shal see God: blessed
are the peace makers, for they shal be called the childerne
of God: blessed be they which suffer persecution for righte-
ousnes sake, for theirs is the kingedome of heauen: It
is better therfore and more profitable to be Idiot, and
knowe nothinge to beleue by Faith and charite, and to
become next vnto God, then being lofty & proude through
the subtilties of sciences to fall into the possession of the
Serpente. So we reade in the Gospel, howe Chryste was
receiued of idiotes, of the rude people, and of the simple
sort, who was contemptuously reiecte, despised, and per-
secuted euen to the deathe by the highe Priestes, by the
Lawiers, by the Scribes, by the Maisters and Rabbines:
for this cause Chryste himselfe also chose his Apostles, not
Rabbines, not Scribes, not Maisters, not Priestes, but
vnlarned parsons of the rude people, boyde well neare
of al knowledge, vnskilful, and Asses.

A Digression in praise of the Ass. Cap. 102.

But lest that some man may falsly accuse me, because
I haue called the Apostles Asses, we will discourse in
fewe wordes the mysteries of the Ass, makinge a
little

little digression, but not from the purpose: for the Doctors of the Hebrewes say that this beast is an example of fortitude and strength, patience, and clemencie, & that his influence dependeth on Sephiroth, whiche is called Hochma, that is to say, wisdom. For his conditions are very necessarie for a disciple of wisdom, he liueth by little forrage, & is contented therewith whatsoeuer it be, he can very well endure penurie, hunger, labour, stripes, rechelesnes, and very wel sufferinge all persecution, of a very simple & poore vnderstanding that he cannot discern from thistles, of an innocent and cleane hart, & without choller, hauing peace with al liuing creatures, & he is patient, bearinge all burdens on his backe, for a rewarde of which he wanteth litle, he is seldome sicke, & liueth longer then any other beast. The Asse as Columella saith, doth many labours about his part, because he easily breaketh the earth with the plough, & draweth many heavy cartes. Moreover almoste the ordinarie labour of this beast is to drawe in milles, and grinde corne, euery countrie needeth so necessary an instrumente as the Asse is, which conveniently can drawe with his necke & carrie on his backe into the citie many necessities. What auailable messenger y^e Asse is in Augurie, Varro witnesseth of. C. Marius, who in time past subdued the South and the North, at the length declared an enimie to his countrie, and persecuted by Scylla, with the counsaile, by guide of an Asse he escaped the threatninges of Scylla, and had an Asse the causer of his flight, and saluie. And in the olde Testament God so honoured an Asse, that when he commaunded euery firste begotten to be slaine for sacrifice, he fauoured Asses and men alone, grauntinge that man should be redeemed for price, and that a sheepe should be chaunged for the Asse: Christ woulde that this beast shoulde be a witness of his natiuitie, and hereof is a stedfast fame, and in him he woulde be saued from the handes of Herode, and the Asse also was consecrated by the touching of the body of

Cornelius Agrippa

of Christe, and honoured with the signe of the crosse: for Christe ascendinge to Jerusalem to triumphe for the redemption of mankind, as the Euangelists witnesse, rode vpon this beaste, as this was foretold in a greete myserie by the Oracle of Zacharie, and it is read that Abraham father of the elect, rode onely vpon Asses, so that this olde Proverbe emonge the people is not spoken in vaine, whiche saith: that the Ass carrieth mysteries, wherefore I wil now aduertise you famous professors of sciences, naye rather Cumane Asses, that if the vnprofitable burdens of humane knowledges be not set aparte, and that Lyons borrowed skynne put of, (not of that Lyon of the Tribe of Iuda, but of him whiche goeth about howlinge, and seekinge whome he may deuoure) yee be not tourned againe into bare and mere Asses, that yee be vtterly and altogether vnprofitable to carrie the mysteries of diuine wisdom: neither had that Apuleius of Megara, euer bene admitted to y holy mysteries of Isis, if first he had not of a Philosopher ben tourned into an Ass. We reade the miracles of diuers beasts, y an Elephant wrote the Greke letters, and Plutarch writeth of an other beinge riual of fellow louer with Aristophanes the Grammarian, y was inamored of a mayden called Stephanopolides, and in the same authour, we reade of a Dragon that loued a maiden of Etholia, and that this beaste saued his nourisher, and many beleued that he ran to him, whose voyce he knewe. And in Plinie we reade, that a Serpent called Aspis, was accustomed to come dailely to a certaine mans table, who after he had perceiued that the hoste his sonne was slaine by one of his dogges, for the punishmente of friendly hospitalitee disceyned, he slewe the dogge, noz euer after for shame came to that house againe. The same authoure saith: that a panther thanked a man for bringinge her whelpes out of a ditch, and bringinge him out of the deserte, set him in the beaten waie. It is written also in Histories, that Cyrus was nourished by a Witche, and the builders

The Conclusion of the worke.

Wherfoze O y^e Asses, which are now with your Childern vnder the commaundement of Ch^rist by his Apostles the messengers and readers of true wisdom in his holy Gospel, be you lew^sed from the darkenes of the flesh and blonde, if ye desire to attaine to this diuine and true wisdom not of y^e tree of the knowledge of good & ill, but of the tree of life, the traditions of men set aparte, and euery search & discourse of the flesh & blond whatsoeuer it be, whether it be conuersant in the reasons of talke, or in the consideration of causes, or in y^e meditations of wo^rkes & effects, now entring not into y^e scholes of Philosophers and Sophisters, but into your selues, ye shal knowe all things: for the knowledge of all things is compacte in you, which (as the Academickes cōfesse) the holy Scriptures do so witnes, bicause God created al things very good, y^e is to say in y^e best degree, wherein they might abide: even as he than hath created trees ful of fruites, so also hath he created the soules as reasonable trees ful of formes & knowledges, but thow the sinne of the first parent al things were reueled, & obliuion the mother of ignorance slept in. Set you than now aside, which may, the beyle of your vnderstanding, which are wrapped in the darknes of ignorance. Cast out y^e drinke of Lethe you whiche haue made your selves droncken with forgetfulness, a waite for the true light you which haue suffered your selues to be taken with vnrasonable slepe, & forthwith when your face is disconered ye shal passe from the light to the light: for (as Iohn saith) ye are annoynted by y^e holy Ghoste, & haue knowne al things, & againe ye neede not to be taught of any, because his annoynting teacheth you all thinges. It is he alone that geueth speache and wisdom. Dauid, Esaie, Ezechiel, Hieremie, Daniel, Iohn Baptiste, and many other Prophetes and Apostles were

The Conclusion.

not learned, but of shepherdes of husbandmenne, and of
Idiotes thei became passingly wel learned in al thinges.
Salomon in one nights dreame was replenished with the
wisedome of all thinges aboue and beneth: and also with
the prudēcy of executing matters, so that none was com-
parable to him. And al these menne were mortal euen as
you be, and sinners also. Perhaps you will saye that this
hath chaunced to a very few. And a few childerne of God
coule attaine to it whome righteous *fone* hath loued: or
resplendēt vertue hath brought to heauen. But despaire
not, the Lordes hande is not shortned to all them whiche
cal vpon him, which serue him faithfully. Anthonie, and y
barbarous Christian seruaunt, obtayned the knowledge
of diuine things thow the prayer of thae daies, as Au-
gustine witnesseth. But you which cannot together with
the Prophetes, with the Apostles, & with those holy men
beholde those thinges with a cleare and pure vnderstan-
ding, seeke ye to haue vnderstanding of them which haue
sene them with cleare sighte: this waye remaineth to be
searched for (as Hierome saith to Rufinus) to the end that
which the spirit hath taught the Prophetes and Apostles,
shoulde be sought by you with the studie of learninge, of
that learning I meane which is taught in Gods Word,
& with a vniuersal consente of the Church approued, not
that whiche hath bene inuented by the wittes of men, be-
cause that doth not lighten y vnderstanding, but maketh
it darke. Where we muste haue recourse to Moses, to the
Prophetes, to Salomon, to the Euangelistes, and to the
Apostles, which shinninge with al kinde of learning, wis-
dome, maners, tonges, propheties, oracles, miracles, and
holines, haue spoken of diuine thinges from God himself,
and of inferiour thinges aboue men, and haue brought to
open light all the secretes of God & nature. For al the se-
cretes of God and nature, al the manner of customes and
lawes, al the knowledge of thinges present, paste, and to
come, are taughte in the holy Scriptures of the Bible.

Whither

Whither then renne you headlonge, which seeke knowledge of them, whiche haue spent all theire life time in searchinge it, & haue lost time and labour, and coulde not finde any truth? O y^e fowles & wicked ones, which setting apart the gistes of y^e holy Ghost, endeavour to learne those thinges of faithles Philosophers, & masters of errours, whiche ye ought to receiue of God, and the holy Ghost. Will you beleue that we can gette knowledge out of the ignoraunce of Socrates? lighte out of the darkenes of Anaxagoras? vertue out of the pitte of Democritus? prouidencie out of the madnes of Empedocles? pietie out of the tunne of Diogenes, sense out of the p^euⁱshnes of Carneades and Archelaus, wisdom out of wicked Aristotle & faithlesse Auerroes? bel^ese out of the superstition of the Platonickes? you erre very muche, & be deceaued by these which haue ben deceaued. But descende into your selues you whiche are desirous of the truthe, departe from the cloudes of mans traditions, and cleaue to the true light: beholde a voice from Heauen, a voice that teacheth from aboue, and sheweth you moze clearly then the Sunne, why are you your owne enimies, and prolonge time to receaue wisdom: heere the oracle of Baruch: God is as he was & no other shalbe esteemed with him, he hath founde out all manner of learninge, and hathe geuen to Iacob his childe, and Israell his beloued, geuinge Lawes and commaundements, and ordayning Sacrifices: after this he was seene on the Earth, and was conuersaunt with men, that is to saie, takinge fleashe, and with an open mouthe teachinge those thinges, which vnder darke questions he hath taught in the Lawe and Prophetes. And to the ende that you maye not thinke, that these thinges be referred to diuine thinges onely, and not to naturall, heere what the wise man witnesseth of him selfe: It is he that hath geuen me the true knowledge of those thinges whiche are, that I might know the dispositions of the compasse of the Earth, the vertue of the Elementes, the be-

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The Conclusion.

ginninge, consummation, middle, and reuolutions of times, the course of the yeare, the dispositions of the Starres, the natures of liuinge Creatures, the anger of beastes, the force of the windes, the thoughtes of men, the differences of plantes, the vertues of rootes, and finally I haue learned al the thinges which be hidde and vnknown, for the Artificer of all thinges hath taught me wisdom. The Diuine wisdom neuer faileth, nothinge escapeth it, nothinge augmenteth it, but comprehendeth al thinges. Understande you therefore now, that there needeth not much labour in this place, but Faith and Prayer: not the studie of longe time, but humblenes of Spirit and cleanness of Harte: not the sumptuous furniture of many booke, but a pure vnderstanding, and made fitte for the truthe as the keye is for the locke: for the great number of booke chargeth the learner, instructeth him not, and he that followeth many authours erreth with many. All thinges are contained and taught in the onely volume of the holy Bible, but vnder this condition y they be not perceaued but by them which are made cleare: to others they be parables, and darke made faste with many seales. Praise then to the Lorde God in faith doubtinge nothinge, that the Lambe of the tribe of Iuda maie come, and open to you the sealed booke, whiche Lambe alone is holy and true, which alone hath the keye of knowledge and discretion, which openeth and no man shutteth, whiche shutteth and no man can open. This is Iesus Christe, the worde and sonne of God the father and blessed wisdom, the true Passer made man as we are, that he might make vs the children of God as he is, whiche is blessed for ever. But leaste that thow vling more wordes I shoulde declame as it is saide, beyonde the hower, let this be the ende of our Oracion.

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The Conclusion.

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